THE CONTRIBUTION OF KERALA TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
1980

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BY

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कुञ्ञनूराजे गुरौ वेदकाव्यशास्त्रान्तदर्शिनि ।
गवेषणविशेषज्ञे कृतिरेषा समर्प्यते ॥

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature was prepared by me as a doctoral thesis of the University of Madras during 1943-47 under the guidance and supervision of Professor C.Kunhan Raja. When it was published in 1958 in the Madras University Sanskrit Series, some minor revision was made to make it up-to-date. It was the first book of its kind aiming at a systematic and well documented survey of Sanskrit literature of a particular region in India and was favourably received by scholars and students. Similar attempts at regional surveys of Sanskrit literature were made later. Dr. P. Sriramamurthy of Andhra University worked on *The Contribution of Andhra to Sanskrit Literature* and Dr. C.S. Sundaram's thesis was on the History of Sanskrit Literature in Tamilnad upto the 13th Century. Similar surveys of the literature of Kashmir, Bengal and Bihar have been made by S. C. Banerji. Other works are being attempted in different parts of India.

Regarding the history of Sanskrit literature in Kerala itself, my book has served to highlight the possibilities of further research in the field, and since its publication in 1958 much disciplined research has been carried out on various aspects. (See 'Additional Bibliography' at the end for details). I am glad that to meet the pressing demand from scholars the University of Madras has come forward to bring out a second edition of the book. I have, however, resisted the temptation to make a thorough revision now to bring it up-to-date; partly because I feel that there has not been any basic discoveries to make my work out of date, and partly because much of the later research work in the field is built as superstructure on the foundation given in my book and often refers to the page numbers in it, especially the bibliographical book on Kerala Sanskrit Literature by Prof. S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer.

In the present edition I have taken a photographic reprint of the first edition after making a few minor corrections without changing the page numbers. The supplement contains 'Additional Bibliography', 'Additions and Revisions' including some corrections, a short account of Kerala Sanskrit literature during the past two decades and a brief survey of Kerala's Contribution to the Philosophical and Technical literature in Sanskrit. The supplement does not claim to be exhaustive. Many problems on dates and identity still remain unsolved; and differences of opinion exist; but I do not find any reason to change my views until positive evidence is discovered.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the University of Madras for bringing out this second edition, to the press for its neat work and to my friends and colleagues in the field for help and encouragement.

Madras
1—10—1979

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

FOREWORD

SANSKRIT has had a continuous history of literary output from the most ancient times to this day. In this long process and rich and varied growth, Sanskrit has been developed by every part of the country. It has grown into a national language with a unique pan-Indian character by enriching itself with many an element of value and beauty in the different regions of the country. For a complete picture of Sanskrit literature as well as for a full appreciation of it, it is necessary to make an intensive study of the Sanskrit literary activity in different areas of the country on the background of the local *milieu*.

The standard histories of Sanskrit literature which have to cover a vast field and lay emphasis on the formative epochs and the efflorescence of the classical ages are constrained, naturally, to refer to the later productions only in an illustrative manner. The efforts of the later ages were however hardly insignificant, judged by quantity, quality or originality. An adequate appraisal of the later phases of Sanskrit literature is also not easy to make, for the materials pertaining to these are scattered and still mostly in manuscripts and known only in the respective localities or regional scripts. A series of intensive regional surveys of Sanskrit literature would serve ultimately to give us a full view of the extensive literary development in Sanskrit in the post-classical ages.

Such a regional study is here carried out for a part of the country which has played a notable role in the cultivation and preservation of Sanskrit. In the whole of India, Kerala perhaps shows the greatest amount of saturation of Sanskrit, with the knowledge of Sanskrit and its spirit permeating and percolating to the utmost fringes of society; fully inflected Sanskrit words and whole passages of Sanskrit could be freely used in writing the local language. From about the 10th century, the learned families not only cherished every branch of Sanskrit learning, - *belles lettres,* systems of philosophy, the technical subjects of medicine and astronomy and the esoteric lore of *mantra* and *tantra* - but preserved the manuscripts of many old and outstanding classics produced in distant parts of India like Kashmir, thanks to which research scholars today have been able to reconstruct many chapters in the development of Sanskrit literature and Indian thought.

Though the *Ghats* had served as a natural fortification and helped Kerala to preserve, in addition to the manuscripts, aspects of culture and tradition obliterated elsewhere, it cannot be said that this part of the country was wholly cut away from outside contacts. While across the waters its coast served as a link with the Western world from early ages, all along the same coastal strip had trickled down successive generations of families of learned Brahmans from as far north as Kashmir. The legend of Paraśurāma making the Sea recede and of Brahmans being settled there really points to a great effort at reclaiming the coastal region and developing it. Kerala has been known in early and classical Sanskrit literature: The beauty of Kerala women and their fine tresses was known to Kālidāsa, and in the picked personnel of the multifarious retinue of the prodigal savant Bāṇa, there was a Kerala *masseuse*. On the East too, the contacts had not been negligible, for during the earlier part of this period, Cola epigraphy shows intimate relations and movement of persons between the Malayalam and Tamil regions and in the later part, numerous Sanskrit scholars of the Tamil districts are found to seek the congenial soil and encouraging support of the kings of Kerala, and Kerala village toponomy also confirms this contact; in fact, till recently, the courts of Kerala served as a haven of support to the Sanskrit scholars of Tamilnad.

The affluent Brahman aristocracy of Kerala could not only devote itself completely to the cultivation of Sanskrit, but extend its own patronage to this learning. In their own time, the Kerala rulers who carved out kingdoms of their own, displayed a remarkable enthusiasm for Sanskrit and, besides being liberal patrons of poets and *śāstrajñas,* themselves actively made conspicuous contribution to the growth of Sanskrit literature.

The name of Śaṅkara alone is enough to highlight the contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature and Indian thought and culture. Of names of the next order could be mentioned those of the devotional mystics Kulaśekhara and Līlāśuka and poets like the King Kulaśekhara whose *Āścaryamañjarī* has been praised and quoted by writers in parts of the country far removed from Kerala. Among single families of scholars who had made for generations distinguished contribution to difficult *Śāstras* and rare *Prasthānas,* the names of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas will surely find an honoured place. In ambivalence in Kāvya and Śāstra, in versatility in different branches of the latter or in prodigiousness of output, Melpputtūr Bhaṭṭatiri could compare with any genius of his type in other parts of the country. In *tour de force* like *Yamaka* or *Dvyāśraya;* in developing a new form like *Prabandha,* in reviving and enriching neglected forms like *Vīthī, Bhāṇa* and *Saṭṭaka,* in providing commentaries for standard works of Kāvya and Śāstra, Kerala could show several poets endowed with great flair and initiative.

With the exception of a few of the foremost names, the vast mass of Sanskrit works that came out of Kerala has not been known sufficiently to the world of Sanskrit scholars. A good deal of detailed work on the subject had been done by Kerala scholars but their writings are mostly in Malayalam, with the result that all this important work is a sealed book to scholars outside Kerala. There have been stray papers or studies on select groups of authors or branches of study belonging to Kerala, which have appeared in English. The present attempt is the first connected account of Kerala contribution to Sanskrit to be brought out in English.

In his study, the author, Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Reader in the Department, has had to restrict himself to the field of pure literature, leaving out the different *Śāstras.* In dealing with his poets and playwrights, he has narrated literary anecdotes and quoted stray verses handed down orally, all of which would help the reader to get a vivid picture of the zest with which, at court and literary circle, king and poet, Brahman and Cākyār, gentleman and lady, cherished the Sanskrit muse.

This book will, it is hoped, fulfil the double purpose of giving Sanskritists a fuller idea of Kerala's contribution to Sanskrit literature and of leading to the production of similar detailed regional studies in the field of Sanskrit literature.

University of Madras
12th February, 1958

V. RAGHAVAN
Professor of Sanskrit

PREFACE

THIS book represents substantially the Thesis for which the University of Madras awarded me the degree of Ph.D. in 1948; it is now published with such necessary corrections and changes as later research work in the field by me and by others has made inevitable.

Sanskrit, the language of Indian culture down the centuries, has been developed by the various parts of India, which vied with one another in cultivating and enriching it. Among the many centres where Sanskrit flourished with unabated enthusiasm, Kerala is one of the most important, though not so well known. In this book I have tried to make a detailed survey of the literary contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit. An intensive study of the development of Sanskrit literature in a particular locality is a prerequisite to the preparation of a complete history of Sanskrit literature as developed all over the country.

In the preparation of this Thesis I have made use of the various Catalogues of manuscripts, and consulted the manuscripts wherever necessary. The Catalogues and handlists of the New Catalogus Catalogorum work in the Madras University were especially of help to me. Printed editions of the texts were also used as far as possible. The histories of Sanskrit literature already available (e.g., by A. B. Keith, M. Krishnamachariar, etc.), and the numerous articles in research journals bearing on the subject of this Thesis have also been of great help. I have also utilized a considerable amount of material available only in Malayalam language. In this connection I wish to express my indebtedness to the previous Kerala writers in the field like Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer, K. Rama Pisharoti and Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rajarajavarma Raja whose critical writings have helped me in my studies; the recent publication by the Kerala University of Ullūr's monumental work *Keralasāhityacaritram* in Malayalam in five volumes has been used by me constantly in the revision of the Thesis; particularly the last chapter in my Thesis on modern poets has been considerably enlarged in the light of Ullūr's work.

This study of mine owes its inspiration to the suggestion and encouragement of Prof. C. Kunhan Raja under whose direction and guidance I worked as a Research Student in the Sanskrit Department of the University of Madras, for nearly three years from October 1943 to August 1946. This work is dedicated to him as a token of my gratitude.

I am deeply indebted to Prof. V. Raghavan for his guidance and help in collecting the material for this Thesis, for recommending its publication, and for his very valuable suggestions while revising it for the Press. I must also thank him for the Foreword he has given to this book.

I am profoundly grateful to the University of Madras for their grant of a scholarship to me in 1944-46 which enabled me to prepare this Thesis, and for including my Thesis in the University Sanskrit Series. My special thanks are due to the authorities of the Adyar Library, especially the former Director, Capt. G. Srinivasamurti, for allowing me free access to its rich literary materials. My thanks are also due to various friends for their suggestions, especially Sri N. V. Krishna Warrier, Dr. Sreekrishna Sarma and Sri K. V. Sarma.

I take this opportunity to record here my appreciation of the help given by the G. S. Press, Madras, in the printing of this work.

University of Madras
12th February, 1958

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

INTRODUCTION

KERALA, the land of the Malayalam speaking people, is the narrow coastal strip on the south-west of India bounded by the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west. With its luxuriant forests fed by both the south-west and the north-west monsoons, the extensive lagoons on the coastal areas surrounded by cocoanut palms, the hills and dales, the rapid rivers, evergreen paddy fields and gardens of mangoes, jack trees and areca-palms entwined with pepper and betel vine, it is one of the most beautiful regions of India. With the impenetrable Western Ghats standing as a barrier to regular intercourse with the people on the east, it has evolved a unique pattern of Indian culture, preserving many of the ancient customs not surviving elsewhere, and making adaptations to other customs in its own characteristic ways.

The early history of Kerala is completely shrouded in obscurity, but from literary references we may conclude that the land was divided into a large number of kingdoms, and that there was no central authority wielding political power over the whole of the land. It is only in the eighteenth century, when king Mārttāṇḍavarman of Travancore consolidated all the southern kingdoms into the one State of Travancore, and the whole of Malabar to the north of Cochin came under the direct control of the English, that the number of political units in Kerala was reduced to three. After India got Independence in 1947, the Central Government influenced the integration of Cochin and Travancore in 1949; and with the linguistic redistribution of the country on the first of November, 1956, Kerala emerged as an integral political unit.

The etymology and the exact significance of the term *Kerala* is still a matter of controversy among scholars; most probably it is related to the term *Cera* by which the country was known in ancient Tamil literature. The term *Kerala* appears in the Second Edict of Aśoka, in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and in other Sanskrit works; classical writers of the west like Pliny also mention *Kerala*. Other names like *Malabar* and *Malayalam* have also been applied to this land; later the term *Malayalam* came to be used for the language of Kerala. According to the ancient Tamil literature belonging to the Sangam period, a common language and culture united the three great divisions of Tamilakam: Cera or Kerala on the west coast, Pāṇḍya in the extreme south and the Cola in the east. The emergence of Kerala as a distinct cultural unit may be said to coincide with the starting of the Kollam era in 825 A.D.; this also seems to be the period of the evolution of Malayalam as a separate language.

According to the popular traditions preserved in works like the *Keralotpatti,* this land was reclaimed by Paraśurāma from the sea, and presented to the Brahmins to organize a theocratic government. It is said that the land reclaimed extended from Gokarṇa to Kanyākumārī (Cape Comorin); but even according to that tradition the northern half of it formed the Tulunāḍ, and only the southern half formed Kerala proper. The existence of similar stories among the people throughout the West Coast upto Gujarat suggests that this Paraśurāma tradition was brought to Kerala by groups of Brahmins who immigrated from the north by the West Coast. There were waves of immigration from the east also through the Palghat gap in the Western Ghats; the existence of common village names and family names in Kerala and parts of Tamilnāḍ and Āndhra points to this fact.

The tradition about the Nambūtiri Brahmins being the actual rulers of the land for a long time, until the split among them necessitated the system of appointing an outside Kṣattriya from Tamilnāḍ to rule as the Viceroy (Perumāl) for twelve years at a time, seems to contain some grains of truth, for the *Śukasandeśa* of the fourteenth century contains clear references to the military Nambūtiri Brahmins who were also the king-makers of Kerala.

The Nambūtiris, though numerically small, were at the top in the spiritual and social hierarchy and were well-versed in the arts of war and peace. Many rulers like the kings of Ampalappuḷa, Iṭappalli and Parūr were themselves Brahmins, and most of the aristocratic Nambūtiris were very big land-owners who could wield great power and influence. Their peculiar system of primogeniture, confining inheritance to the elest son of the family who alone could marry in his own caste, and allowing the younger brothers to enter into companionship (*sambandha*) with the women of matrilinear Kṣattriyas, Nairs or Ampalavāsis like Vāriyars and Piṣāroṭis, helped not only to preserve the properties of the Nambūtiris intact, but also to create a leisured class of intellectual Brahmins free from the worries of day to day existence, who could devote their entire time to the cultivation of literature and arts. More than that, this system of hypergamy was responsible for the study of Sanskrit to penetrate and permeate the lower strata of society, even to the Ampalavāsis and Nairs, unlike in other parts of India where it was confined to the Brahmins and the Kṣattriyas.

The existence of a large number of kingdoms was also one of the causes for the rich contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature. In the extreme north was Kolattiri or the king of Kolattunāḍ (Cannanore), which is the same as the ancient Mūṣaka country. Further south came the land of the Zamorin of Calicut. The kingdom of Cochin came to the south of this. Its rulers claimed to be the descendents of the Kulaśekharas of Mahodayapuram; in fact their capital was shifted to Cochin only after 1341 A.D. when a great flood in the Alwaye river opened the bar of Cochin, and made Cranganore lose its importance by blocking its harbour. Still further south was the kingdoms of Vaṭakkuṅkūr, Tekkuṅkūr, Quilon, Ampalappuḻa, Kāyaṅkulam and Veṇāḍ; modern Travancore included all these areas. Besides these were smaller areas under the rule of chiefs vaguely acknowledging nominal suzerainty to one or the other of the major kings. Though thus politically divided into small sections, Kerala always maintained its cultural unity. It was one from the point of view not only of language, but also of social and religious organization. The Nambūtiri Brahmins never recognized or felt any political barrier within Kerala. Scholars and poets were welcomed everywhere, and rulers vied with one another in patronizing art and literature. A scholar like Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was equally welcome with the zamorin, the king of Cochin and the ruler of Ampalappuḻa; a poet like Rāmapāṇivāda could find patronage in the courts of various rulers of his time. Political rivalries and factions did not stand in the way of scholars and poets soliciting the patronage of kings in opposite camps; on the contrary, such rivalries only increased their opportunities.

The literary patronage of Kerala princes attracted not only scholars and poets of Kerala but also those from outside, especially form Tamilnāḍ. Many of them visited Kerala and spent a considerable part of their life in the country. A poet like Uddaṇḍa Śāstri had practically become a Kerala poet; and I have included in this Thesis such outside poets patronized by Kerala princes. But I have not been able to find poets and writers of ancient Kerala going outside the country in search of patronage.

From very early times many of the royal courts and some of the aristocratic Brahmin families functioned like some sort of Universities where studies of advanced nature were persued by students in the various branches of knowledge. Besides the Nambūtiri Brahmins, several of the members of the royal families, and of the different Ampalavāsi communities too were scholars in Sanskrit. It must also be said that women were not denied the privilege of study in Kerala; the princesses in the royal families especially kept up the tradition of study and scholarship. Many of the rich temples under the management of the Nambūtiris were also teaching Vedas and Śāstras. There were also schools, called Sabhāmaṭhas, where Sanskrit was taught. The Saṁnyāsi Maṭhas like those in Trichur have also been doing much for promoting the study of Sanskrit in Kerala.

Sanskrit literature is usually studied on an all-India basis; consequently many details relating to particular authors and their works do not receive sufficient attention. India developed in ancient times various centres of learning with certain definite features, like Kashmir, Banaras, Mithila, Tanjore, Vijayanagara and Kerala. The development of Sanskrit literature in such centres is closely interrelated with the local conditions and also to some extent with the development of the literature in the regional language. Hence a detailed study of such centres has to be undertaken separately with reference to each locality. Such an intensive local survey of Sanskrit literature in particular centres of learning* is sure to bring to light much interesting and useful material that would be missed in an all-India approach.

It is with such an idea that I have undertaken this study of the contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature. It is not necessary to emphasize how intimately connected the history of Sanskrit literature in Kerala is with that of Malayalam literature. Many Sanskrit authors have been authors in Malayalam also. And much information regarding Sanskrit authors and their works could be obtained only from Malayalam literature. Further, modern research workers like Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer and Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rajarajavarma Raja have done considerable work in the field of literary growth in Kerala, both in Sanskrit and in Malayalam;

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*As an example of such a study see Dr. V. Raghavan, Introduction to *Sāhendravilāsa* (Tanjore, 1952).

the results of this research enterprise are available only in Malayalam. Therefore, anyone studying the problem of Sanskrit literature in Kerala must be thoroughly acquainted with Malayalam language and literature and the history of Kerala.

We do not know when exactly the influence of Sanskrit began to be seriously felt in Kerala. It must have been much earlier than the beginning of the Kollam era. The *Avantisundarīkathā* of Daṇḍin belonging to the seventh century A.D. refers to great Sanskrit scholars from Kerala like Mātṛdatta, the poet who wrote some commentaries, and his father Bhavarāta who commented on some *Kalpasūtra*. The great Mīmāṁsā teacher Prabhākara is claimed by tradition to have been a son of Kerala; and Śaṅkarācārya is accepted to have been born at Kālaṭi in central Kerala. Sanskrit literature may be considered to have begun to develop in Kerala about the seventh century A.D. From about the eighth or ninth century there has been a continuous and luxuriant growth in all branches of literature; and in the case of Sandeśakāvyas, Prabandhas and Stotras, Kerala's contribution has been exceptionally important.

Even after collecting the material on the contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature, it was a problem to devise a suitable plan to present it clearly. From the historical point of view it may be thought that the treatment of authors in their chronological order is the best. But there are authors whose dates are still uncertain, and in the case of those belonging to the same period there will be difficulty in selection. Further, in such a treatment of the subject one has to move from authors of one locality to those of another. A second possible basis may be found in the different types of literature; here there is the difficulty that the same author may have written works belonging to different types. Therefore, consistent with the basic principle underlying my investigation, namely, that of selecting certain specific centres where Sanskrit had developed and treating them as distinct units, I have tried to present the history and growth of Sanskrit literature according to the different centres of learning in Kerala. The chief among such centres are the courts of the kings of Mahodayapura in the early centuries of the Kollam era, Kolattunāḍ in North Kerala, the Zamorins of Calicut, the rulers of Cochin and later those of Travancore. I have been able to associate a large number of writers to one or the other of these centres. There have been other ruling families like those of Veṭṭattunāḍ, Ampalappuḷa and

Quilon, but in these royal courts the development could not be traced for any continuous period; hence they have not been dealt with in separate chapters. In the case of some prominent authors like Vilvamaṅgala, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Rāmapāṇivāda who could not be restricted to any particular centre, I have given separate chapters. In arranging these chapters dealing with the centres of learning and with prominent authors, I have been guided by considerations of chronology also. After dealing with the various centres of learning and the important individual authors, there still remained a number of authors and works. These have been dealt with under distinct types like Mahākāvyas, Dramas and Minor Works. Here also I have tried to keep in view the chronological relation as far as it could be ascertained. Modern writers belonging to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are dealt with in the last chapter.

In this Thesis I have confined myself to pure literature. Kerala has contributed immensely to various other fields of technical and philosophical literature like Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa, Tantra, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta and Vaidya, and the contribution is so vast that there is scope for a separate study in each of these fields. I have completed a survey of only one field, what could in a more limited sense be called Sanskrit literature. Incidentally, while dealing with the poets and dramatists, I have also referred to their contributions in other fields. Thus the Vyākaraṇa works of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and the Mīmāṁsā works of Payyūr Bhaṭṭas may find a place here.

It has not been found necessary to include in such a survey any account of Śaṅkarācārya who is an all-India personality and whose contribution is very well known. The Bhāsa problem has also been excluded, because it has been thoroughly discussed by scholars already, and because these works have not been shown to be by Kerala authors.

Some points of interest regarding the dating of authors or works and the Sanskritizing of proper names found in Sanskrit works may be noted here. A few of the Kerala writers give their date of birth or the date of composition of their works, in the texts themselves by some meaningful chronogram referring to the Kali dates using the well-known *Kaṭapayādi* system. While referring to proper names of places and houses Kerala writers Sanskritize them in various ways, sometimes translating them (as in *Veda-*

vana or *Srutikāntāra* for Velaṅgāḍ), sometimes using some meaningful Sanskrit term having a resemblance to the original term (as in Vandāru for *Ārūr,* and *Muktisthala* for *Mūkkola*) and sometimes translating some portion of the term, while retaining the other with slight changes (as in Kukkuṭakroḍa for Kozhikode); as a result of this it is often difficult to identify the original names.

Considering the wealth of Kerala's contribution to Sanskrit literature, it is strange that it is not well known outside. Besides the works of Saṅkarācārya, it is only the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* of Vāsudeva and the works of Vilvamaṅgala that have become known in other parts of India. The main reason for this seems to be that Kerala scholars were fortunate enough to enjoy sufficient encouragement and patronage in the highly favourable atmosphere of their own country, and felt no need to go outside in search of patronage. I believe that for this reason the account that I have given of the Kerala contribution to Sanskrit literature will be of special interest to scholars. I have been able to present here only the names of works, and a brief description of the more important among them. It is not possible to estimate the full value of Kerala contribution in such a short compass. If I have succeeded in showing that there is a field of Sanskrit literature not well known outside Kerala till now, which deserves the attention of scholars, I feel I have attained my purpose. It is also my belief that this attempt will lead to similar presentation of other fields of Sanskrit literature in Kerala, and also of Sanskrit literature in other centres in India.

K. Kunjunni Raja

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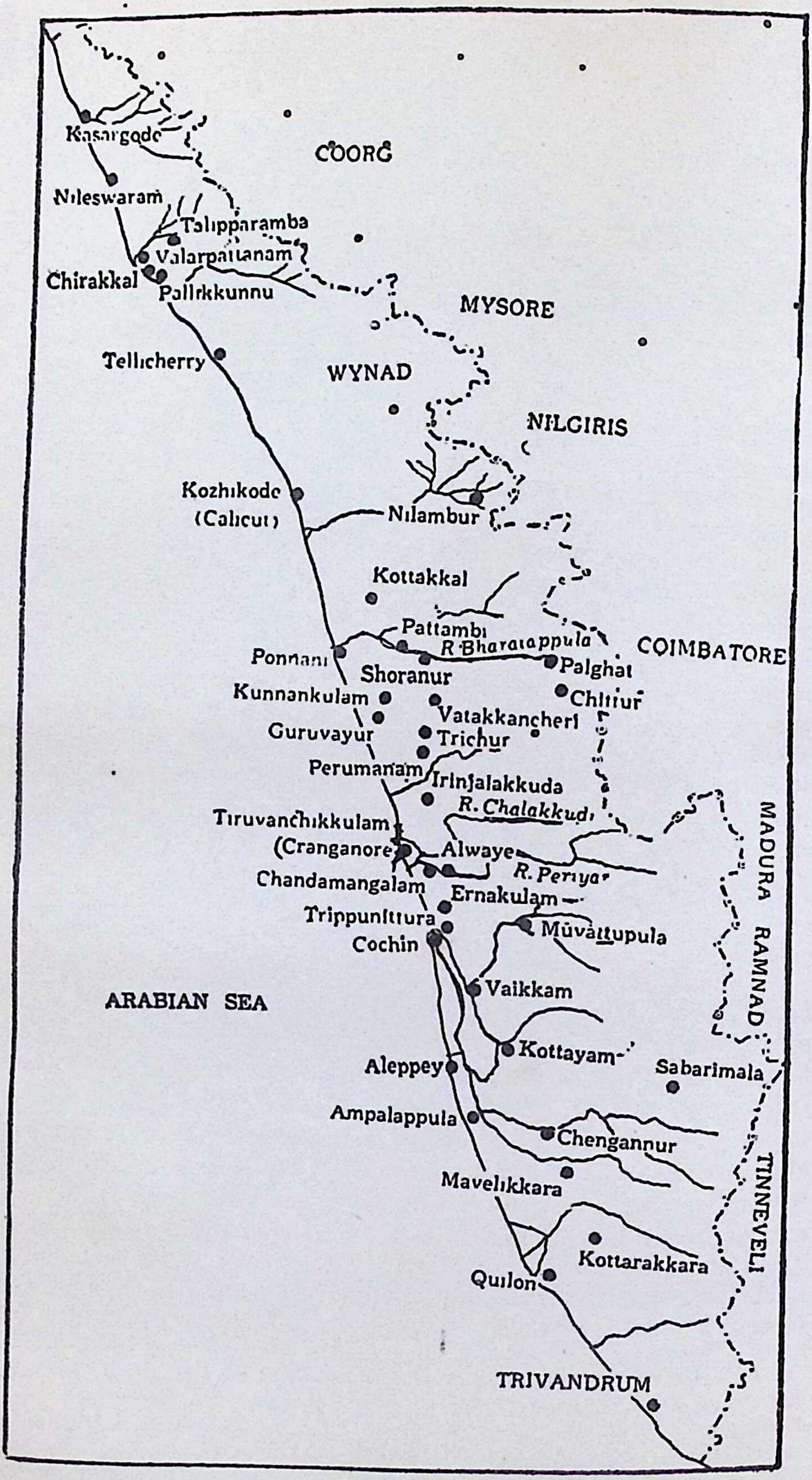
ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona.
Adyar *AL*	Adyar Library Manuscript.
ALB	Adyar Library Bulletin.
ALS	Adyar Library Series
AORM	Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras.
AUS	Annamalai University Sanskrit Series.
Brit. Mus. Cat.	British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books in Pali an Sanskrit (3 volumes).
BRI *BRVI*	Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur.
BSOS *BSOAS*	Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies, London
CC	Catalogus Catalogorum, by Th. Aufrecht.
Cat. BORI	Catalogue of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona.
DC	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Govt MSS. Library, Madras.
EI *Ep. Ind.*	Epigraphia Indica.
Geschichte	Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band III, by M. Winternitz.
HCSL	History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, by M. Krishnamachariar, Madras, 1937.
HSL	History of Sanskrit Literature, by A. B. Keith.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
IA	Indian Antiquary.
JAHS *JAHRS*	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
JAU	Journal of Annamalai University.
JBRAS	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
JBU	Journal of Bombay University.
JGRI	Journal of Gangānātha Jha Research Institute.
JORM	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London.
JT	Journal of Travancore University, Oriental Mss. Library, Trivandrum.

KBSC	Keralabhāṣāsāhityacaritram by R. Narayana Panikkar.
KK	Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta.
KSC	Keralasāhityacaritram, by Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer.
KSP	Kerala Society Papers.
KSSC	Keralīyasaṁskṛtasāhityacaritram, by V. Rajarajavarma Raja.
MQR	Malabar Quarterly Review.
MUS	Madras University Series.
MW	Mathrubhumi Weekly, Kozhikode.
NCC	New Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, by Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras.
Oppert	List of MSS. in private libraries of S. India, G. Oppert.
PO	Poona Orientalist.
POS	Poona Oriental Series.
POC	Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference.
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Bangalore.
R	Report No. of Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.
SD	Sanskrit Drama, by A. B. Keith.
Seshagiri, Report	Report of the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts by Seshagiri Sastri.
SPT	Sāhityapariṣattraimāsikam, Ernakulam.
T	Kerala University Collection, Trivandrum.
Tanjore	Descriptive Catalogue of The Maharajah Sarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore.
TAS	Travancore Archaeological Series.
TC	Descriptive Catalogue of Curator's Library, Trivandrum.
TP	Descriptive Catalogue of the Maharaja's Palace Library, Trivandrum.
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
ZII	Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik.


COORG
Kasargode
Nileswaram
Talipparamba
Valarpattanam
Chirakkal
Pallikkunnu
?
MYSORE
Tellicherry
WYNAD
NILGIRIS
Kozhikode
(Calicut)
Nilambur
Kottakkal
Pattambi
R Bharatappula
COIMBATORE
Ponnani
Shoranur
Palghat
Kunnankulam
Chittur
Vatakkancheri
Guruvayur
Trichur
Perumanam
Irinjalakkuda
R. Chalakkudi
Tiruvanchikkulam
(Cranganore)
Alwaye
R. Periyar
Chandamangalam
Ernakulam
Trippunittura
Mūvattupula
Cochin
MADURA
RAMNAD
ARABIAN SEA
Vaikkam
Kottayam
Aleppey
Sabarimala
Ampalappula
Chengannur
TINNEVELI
Mavelikkara
Kottarakkara
Quilon
TRIVANDRUM

KERALA

CHAPTER I

KULAŚEKHARAS OF MAHODAYAPURAM

In ancient Kerala there were several famous kings who called themselves Kulaśekharas. Their capital was Mahodayapuram at the mouth of the Periyar river, which may be identified with modern Tiruvañcikulam in Cranganore. 'Kulaśekhara' seems to have been a title assumed by the Kerala kings at the time of their coronation, for we know at least two Kulaśekharas whose proper names were different: Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, patron of the famous astronomer Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, and Rāmavarman Kulaśekhara, patron of the Yamaka poet, Vāsudeva. There is much uncertainty regarding the age and identity of the various Kulaśekharas; the problem became more complicated at the hands of some scholars who considered that 'Kulaśekhara' was a proper name. Many of the Kulaśekharas of Mahodayapuram were not only great patrons of literature; they were themselves well accomplished scholars who made original contribution to Sanskrit literature. Kulaśekhara Āḻvār who may be considered as the author of the *Mukundamālā* and the royal dramatist Kulaśekharavarman who may be identified with the patron of the Yamaka poet, Vāsudeva, are the most outstanding among them.

(i) *Kulaśekhara Āḻvār and the Mukundamālā*

Kulaśekhara Āḻvār is one of the greatest religious mystics of South India. According to tradition[1] this Vaiṣṇava saint was born as an incarnation of Viṣṇu's Kaustubha. Vedānta Deśika mentions Tiruvañcikkulam as the place of birth of the Āḻvār.[2] Kulaśekhara was the son of Dṛḍhavrata, king of Kerala. After coming to the throne he conquered the Pāṇḍya and the Cola kingdoms, and became the Emperor of the whole of South India.[3] But as in the case of Aśoka, at the height of his military glory his entire outlook changed, and Kulasekhara became particularly attached to the Vaiṣṇava school of devotion. There are several stories about his strong attachment to Śrī Rāma. He was also a devotee of Viṣṇu; it is said that after crowning his son as the king, Kulaśekhara retired to Śrīraṅgam to lead a life of ardent prayer. He passed away at Mannarkoyil in Tinnevelly District on his way from Śrīraṅgam to Tirupati and other temples in the South.

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[1] For the traditional account of Kulaśekhara Āḻvār see A. Govindacharya, *The Holy Lives of the Āḻvārs*, Mysore, 1902, pp. 116-133.

[2] *Prabandhasāram*, stanza 8. He calls the place *Tiru-v-añcai-k-kalam.*

[3] In the *Perumāl Tirumoḻi* he calls himself *Kollikāvalan* (king of Kolli), *Kūḍalnāyakan* (the lord of Madura), and *Kōḻikkōn* (the lord of Uraiyur). *Kolli* must be in Kerala itself. (See T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas*, Madras University, 1923, p. 4f). Perhaps it is the same as Tiruvañcikkulam.

According to the Vaiṣṇava traditions the date of birth of Kulaśekhara Āḻvār is 3075 B.C.[4] "He was born in the year Parābhava, the month *Māśi* (*Māgha* in Sanskrit), Friday the twelfth of the bright fortnight and *Nakṣatra Punarvasu*". Obviously the date cannot be accepted; from the astrological details given, Swamikannu Pillai calculated the date of birth of the Āḻvār as 767 A.D.[5] and K. G. Sesha Aiyar calculated it as 527 A.D.[6] But the astrological details that are given by the hagiologists have no historical significance, and cannot be of any real value in fixing the date of the Āḻvār.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar assigned the Āḻvār to the twelfth century A.D. by identifying him with Kulaśekharāṅka mentioned "in an inscription on a tablet existing in the temple at Naregal in the Dharvar District" as being vanquished by Permāḍi of the Sindia dynasty.[7] This view is not acceptable, for the Āḻvār was certainly earlier than the twelfth century A.D. There is a record of Kulottuṅga Cola's 18th year (1088 A.D.) which makes provision for the recital of one of the works of the Āḻvār beginning with *Teṭṭarum tiral.*[8] Another inscription of 1050 A.D. belonging to the reign of Cola Keraladeva also provides for a similar recital. At Mannarkoyil where the Āḻvār is supposed to have passed away, there is a temple known as Kulaśekhara Āḻvār Koyil; from the mural inscriptions there it is known that the temple was consecrated to the memory of Śri Kulaśekhara Perumal by one Vasudevan Keśavan of Mullappalli in Kerala (Malaimaṇḍalam).[9] The earliest of such inscriptions referring to the Āḻvār is of the fourth year of Rājendra Cola (c. 1015 A.D.). Hence it is clear that the Āḻvār must have been famous before that period.

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[4] A. Govindacharya (*op. cit.*) and M. Krishnamachariar (*HCSL*, 277 f) accept this traditional date as correct!

[5] *The Indian Ephemeris*, Part I, p. 489.

[6] *IHQ*, VII, pp. 649 ff.

[7] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other minor Religious Systems*, 1913, p. 49 f.

[8] *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, pp. 148-52. See also Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Early History of Vaiṣṇavism in India*, p. 33.

[9] K. G. Sesha Aiyar, *IHQ*, VII, p. 648; Ullur, *KSC*, I, p. 61: *Śrī kulaśekarapperumālaiyukantaruluvitta malaimaṇḍalattu mullaippali vāsutevan keśavan.*

Kulaśekhara Āḻvār is well known as the author of *Perumāl Tirumoḻi* in the Tamil *Prabandham.* There he calls himself as the ruler of Kolli, the master of Kūḍal, the king of Kōḻi and also the overlord of Koṅgu.[10] This ascendency of Kerala in South India, says Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar,[11] does not seem "possible after A.D. 900 when the first great Cola Parāntaka became supreme in South India, when the Cola capital was Tanjore, not Urayūr." According to him such ascendency would have been possible either before the rise of the Pallavas under the dynasty of Narasiṃhavarman sometime before 600 A.D., or after the collapse of the dynasty sometime about 800 A.D. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar assigns the Āḻvār to the sixth century A.D.; but there is no need to take him to such an early date. He might have flourished towards the close of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth.

Mukundamālā, a short devotional lyric in Sanskrit, is generally assigned to the Āḻvār. In the text of the *Mukundamālā* itself the author's name is given as king Kulaśekhara.[12] The commentator Rāghavānanda gives the additional information that Kulaśekhara was a king of Kerala.[13] The main arguments for the identification of this Kulaśekhara with the Āḻvār are the following: both were kings of Kerala, staunch Vaiṣṇava devotees, and composers of devotional songs; the great popularity of the *Mukundamālā* is to be attributed to the widely held belief that it is the work of the Āḻvār, and it is not inconceivable that the same poet sang songs both in Sanskrit and in Tamil. Moreover, both are known as Kulaśekharas.

Against such an identification it has been argued[14] that the *Mukundamālā* is not regarded among the canonical books of Śrivaiṣṇavas, that the commentators of the *Nālāyira Prabandha* in

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[10] *Perumāl Tirumoḻi,* I. x, II. x, III. x.

[11] *op. cit.,* p. 36.

[12] See the concluding portion: राज्ञा कृता कृतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ।

[13] See the introductory portion of the commentary, p. 1f:

इह खलु...केरलचक्रवालचक्रवर्ती...मुकुन्दमालाख्यं स्तोत्ररत्नमकरोत् ।

[14] K. G. Sesha Aiyar, *Kulaśekhara's Date, IHQ,* VII. p. 650; K. Rama Pisharoti, Appendix to *Mukundamālā,* Annamalai University Series, p. iii; V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *KSSC,* I, pp. 132ff.

Tamil have not quoted from it, that the *Prabandhasāra* of Vedānta Deśika speaks only of the *Perumāl Tirumoḻi*, that the Āḻvār has not sung in praise of any Kerala shrine, and that his *Perumāl Tirumoḻi* is not popular in Kerala. The Āḻvār was a devotee of Śrī Rāma; but the *Mukundamālā* does not contain any verse about Rāma. None of these arguments is of a positive nature. It has also been argued that the Āḻvār was prior to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and the author of the *Mukundamālā* posterior to it. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, it is said[15] that in the Kali age real Vaiṣṇava devotees will be found on the banks of the rivers Tāmraparṇi, Kṛtamālā, Payasvini, Kaveri and Mahānadī flowing west. The Mahānadī flowing west is the Periyār river; hence the allusion there must be to Kulaśekhara Āḻvār who was born at Tiruvañcikkulam which is the land of the Mahānadī. On the basis of this reference it is argued that the Āḻvār must be earlier than the *Purāṇa*. There is nothing which militates against the view; but it is possible, as Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says, that the portion found in the *Purāṇa* alluding to the Āḻvārs is a later interpolation.[16] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar assigned the *Mukundamālā* to the post-*Bhāgavata* period on the ground that it contains a verse from that *Purāṇa*.[17] K. G. Sesha Aiyar argued[18] that the presence of the word *Rāmānuja* used to denote Śrī Kṛṣṇa in a verse of the *Mukundamālā* showed that the poem was later than the *Bhāgavata*. But both these verses are not found in many versions of the text, including the one accepted by the commentator Rāghavānanda.

We know that the author of the *Mukundamālā* must be much earlier than the thirteenth century, for a verse from this poem is cited in an inscription at a place so distant as Pagan in Burma in the thirteenth century. The inscription[19] is in Tamil characters and records the consecration of a *Maṇḍapa;* provision is made by Kulaśekhara Nambi of Mahodayapaṭṭinam (near Cranganore) in Malaimaṇḍalam (*i.e.,* Kerala) for setting up a lamp in the temple. The record begins with the following verse of the *Mukundamālā:*

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[15] *Bhāgavata*, XI, v. Quoted by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 8. The verses are:

कलौ खलु भविष्यन्ति नारायणपरायणाः ।
क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराज द्रविडेषु च भूरिशः ॥
ताम्रपर्णी नदी यत्र कृतमाला पयस्विनी ।
कावेरी च महापुण्या प्रतीची च महानदी ॥

[16] *loc. cit.* Anyhow the passage is earlier than Vedānta Deśika who quotes it in his *Rahasyatrayasāra*.

[17] *op. cit.*, p. 49. The verse referred to is:

कायेन वाचा मनसेन्द्रियैर्वा बुद्ध्यात्मना वा प्रकृतेः स्वभावात् ।
करोमि यद्यत् सकलं परस्मै नारायणायेति समर्पयामि ॥

This is a very popular verse, and one cannot be certain that it originally belonged to the *Bhāgavata*.

[18] *IHQ*, VII, p. 650f.

नास्था धर्मे न वसुनिचये नैव कामोपभोगे
यद्यद्भव्यं भवतु भगवन् पूर्वकर्मानुरूपम् ।
एतत् प्रार्थ्यं मम बहुमतं जन्मजन्मान्तरेऽपि
त्वत्पादाम्भोरुहयुगगता निश्चला भक्तिरस्तु ॥

Three verses from the *Mukundamālā* are quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of the Bengal writer Śrīdharadāsa, composed in 1205 A.D., with the remark that they are by Śrī Kulaśekhara; two other verses are quoted as anonymous. In the *Yaśastilaka Campū* of Somadeva composed in 959 A.D., there is a phrase 'शीकरासारतारकितहरिति' which seems to be an echo of the *Mukundamālā* verse:

क्षीरसागरतरङ्गशीकरासारतारकितचारुमूर्तये ।
भोगिभोगशयनीयशायिने माधवाय मधुविद्विषे नमः ॥

found in the Kāvyamālā edition of the text.[20] This suggests a date earlier than the tenth century to the *Mukundamālā*. The absence of any reference to Rādhā in the *Mukundamālā* may also suggest an early date to the poem. There is nothing which stands seriously against the identification of its author with the Āḻvār. The Kerala tradition is also in favour of it.[21]

Some scholars[22] try to identify the author of the *Mukundamālā* with Kulaśekhara, patron of the Yamaka poet Vāsudeva. The Kerala reading of the last verse of the *Mukundamālā* is as follows:

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ रविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारशवावभूताम् ।
तेनाम्बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजषट्पदेन
राज्ञा कृता कृतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ॥

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[19] *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 197f.

[20] Dr. V. Raghavan, "Gleanings from the *Yaśastilaka Campū*," *JGRI*, I, p. 472.

[21] See Kunhikuttan Thampuran, *Keralam* (Trichur, 1927), Canto III, Verses 62 and 66.

[22] A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, *JRAS*, 1925, p. 269; Ullur Paramesvara Iyer, *SPT*, I, p. 331; V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *KSSC*, I, p. 158.

The commentator Rāghavānanda explains it[23] to the effect that a certain Brahmin named Ravi, and a Vāriyar named Lokavīra were Kulaśekhara's friends. From this it is postulated that "the Brahmin Ravi immortalized in these lines of Kulaśekhara was the father of the poet Vāsudeva."[24] There is some difficulty in accepting this view. The verse quoted above offers a number of variant readings.[25] But even if we accept on the authority of the commentator that the author of the *Mukundamālā* had a friend named Ravi, it does not necessarily follow that this Ravi is identical with the Ravi mentioned by Vāsudeva as his father.

The *Mukundamālā*[26] is a short lyrical poem of devotional fervour. The language is quite simple and natural. Owing to the great popularity of the poem there are various recensions of the text, each different from the others in the number of verses and in their arrangement. The Kerala recension contains 31 verses.

Two Sanskrit commentaries on the *Mukundamālā* are known. The *Tātparyadīpikā*[27] by Rāghavānanda is a scholarly commentary giving Advaitic interpretation to the verses. He explains the text as an exposition of the two mystic mantras: *Mukundāṣṭādaśākṣara mantra* and *Aṣṭākṣara mantra.* He blends the Advaitic system of metaphysics with the Bhakti cult, making Viṣṇu the Saguṇabrahman. Little is known about the other commentary on the *Mukundamālā* by one Tiruveṅkaṭasūri; a manuscript of it is available in the Madras Government Oriental manuscripts Library.[28]

Rāghavānanda, author of the *Tātparyadīpikā* on the *Mukundamālā*, is a versatile scholar and has to his credit several other commentaries on well known works. His best work is the *Kṛṣṇa-*

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[23] Annamalai University edition, p. 67f.

[24] *JRAS*, 1925, p. 269.

[25] Instead of *ravilokavīrau* other readings are *kavilokavīrau, kavilokagītau* and *naralokavīrau.* For *dvijanmavarapāraśavau* there are three other readings: *dvijanmaparivāraśivau, dvijanmavarapadmaśarau,* and *dvijanmavarapārśvacarau.* K. G. Sesha Aiyar's objection to the Kerala reading, that the word *pāraśava* means 'a bastard', and cannot be applied to the Vāriyar community, is weak, for in Kerala the Vāriyars generally call themselves *pāraśavas.*

[26] Haberlin, 515; Kāvyamālā, I; Annamalai University Series, I; Vāṇīvilāsam edition from Srirangam; translated into English by R. N. Aiyangar, Madras. Various editions in Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Grantha scripts also.

[27] Annamalai University Series, I.

[28] R. 1553 (s-5); *HCSL*, p. 326.

padī commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*[29] His other works are *Śeṣāryadīpikā*[30] on the *Paramārthasāra* of Śeṣa, a *vṛtti*[31] on the *Laghustuti* of Laghubhaṭṭāraka and a commentary on the *Viṣṇubhujaṅgaprayātastotra.*[32] Besides, two original works, *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha* and *Vidyārcanamañjarī*, are also attributed to him.[33] At the end of the commentary on the *Bhāgavata* Rāghavānanda gives some details about himself and his preceptor Kṛṣṇānanda.[34] He says that Kṛṣṇānanda was a native of Nāgapura on the banks of the Ganges, who became a sannyāsin and came to the south with many others to visit sacred places. At Trivandrum he studied under Śivāmṛta Paramahamsa; later he went to Trichur where he stayed for a long time engaged in teaching philosophy. Finally he attained Nirvāṇa at the shrine of Kṛṣṇa at Tṛccemmaram (Raktaśākhī). Rāghavānanda was a devoted student of this Kṛṣṇānanda. His house was situated on the banks of the Bhāratappuḻa (Nilā) in Kerala. He took to asceticism and became a great Yogin and an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu. The commentary on the *Bhāgavata* was composed by him when king Rāghava was ruling over Kolattunād.[35]

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[29] Published from Trippunithura in the Ravivarma Granthāvali.
[30] *TSS*, 12.
[31] *TSS*, 60. *Vide* also *KSSC*, I, p. 371.
[32] *TC*, 1114.
[33] *KSC*, I, pp. 302, 309.
[34] See description of Manuscript *TP*, 129 in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Trivandrum Palace Library.*

पतञ्जलित्वे सति नागराजेनाङ्गीकृतत्वादुरुमङ्गलेन ।
वदन्ति यन्नागपुरं मनुष्यास्तत्रावतीर्य द्विजवर्यगेहे ॥
जन्म द्वितीयं विधिवत्प्रपन्नो यजूंषि साङ्गानि गुरोर्गृहीत्वा ।
स्नात्वा विवाहात् पुर एव गत्वा वैराग्यतो ह्याश्रममन्तिमं यः ॥
आनन्दशीर्षोज्ज्वलकृष्णनामा मुनिर्मुनीन्द्रैः सह पद्मनाभम् ।
चित्ते निधायाखिललोकनाथं देशं तदङ्घ्रिस्फुरितं प्रपेदे ॥
येनाथ सेतुर्जनकात्मजायाः शोभावहोऽध्यैक्षि च पद्मनाभः ।
शिवामृताख्यात् परहंसमुख्याच्छ्रुतश्च येनाखिलवेदसारः ॥
अन्तेऽभिषिक्तः परहंसराज्ये यश्चात्र तेनैव मुनीश्वरेण ।
यश्चानुजग्राह वृषाधिनाथस्याङ्के निषण्णः स्वसुखं जनेभ्यः ॥
स्वपादपद्मं समुपाश्रितेभ्यो वाचाखिलाम्नायगिरोऽर्थभूतम् ।
श्रीरक्तशाखीति मुकुन्दधाम्नि ख्यातेऽकरोच्च परं समाधिम् ॥
तत्पादपद्मभ्रमरेण सेयं श्रीराघवानन्दमुनीश्वरेण ।
श्रीमन्निलातीरसमुद्भवेन तुर्याश्रमं मृत्युभया....तेन ॥
गोविन्दमात्मन्यधिगम्य साक्षाद्भक्तिप्रभेदैरपि योगभेदैः ।
तत्प्रीतिकामेन कृता चिराय जीयात् कृतिः कृष्णपदी पृथिव्याम् ॥

This Rāghavānanda is usually identified with Kokkunnattu Svāmiyār whose date is traditionally given by the chronogram *Puṇyāṭavyām yatis syāt* denoting the Kali days, equivalent to 1310 A.D.[36] There is no proof for this identification. King Rāghava of Kolattunād is not known elsewhere; if he could be identified with king Rāghava mentioned in the *Amogharāghava Campū*,[37] Rāghavānanda may be assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. K. Rama Pisharoti's identification of Kṛṣṇānanda with a contemporary of Mānaveda of Calicut in the seventeenth century[38] is without any foundation; so also the identification with the author of the *Siddhāntasiddhāñjana* whose author is known to be a native of the Cola country.[39]

(ii) *The Royal Dramatist Kulaśekhara*

What we know definitely about the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara, author of the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa*[40] and the *Subhadrādhanañjaya*,[41] is only very little. From the prologue to the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa*[42] it is clear that he was Emperor of Kerala, that he had his capital at Mahodayapuram, or modern Tiruvañcikkulam, and that prior to his dramatic works he had already composed a prose work entitled *Āścaryamañjarī*. In the prologue to the *subha-*

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35. See the verse:

विवेकनिकषोपले वहति राघवे कोलभूमघोन्यलघुविक्रमैरवनिचक्ररक्षाधुरम् ।
अकुण्ठमतिवैभवादपृथगात्तवैकुण्ठतः सती कृतिरियं मुनेरजनि राघवानन्दतः ॥

36. *KSSC*, I, p. 371.

37. This *Campū* was written by Divākara in 1299 A.D. For details *vide supra.*

38. *Kṛṣṇas of Kerala, BRVI*, VI, pp. 81ff.; Introduction to *Mukundamālā*, p. iv.

39. *KSC*, I, p. 304.

40. *TSS*, 11.

41. *TSS*, 13.

42. यस्य............मुखकमलादगलदाश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुद्रवः ।.........तस्य राज्ञः केरलकुलचूडामणेः महोदयपुरपरमेश्वरस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणः कृतिरियमधुना प्रयोगविषयमवतरति ।

drādhanañjaya he tells us[43] that it was composed later than the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa.* A short description of the poet is given in *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa* itself.[44]

To this may be added the information given by a Brahmin contemporary of Kulaśekharavarman in his *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* commentaries on the two dramas. There is a long introductory portion to the commentary on the *Subhadrādhanañjaya,* where he gives a detailed description of the circumstances that led to his writing the commentaries.[45] The house of the commentator was situated at Paramēśvaramaṅgalam on the banks of the river Cūrṇi (Periyār). One morning a messenger from the Emperor came to his house and informed him that the Emperor wanted to see him. A country boat with all amenities was ready for his journey. The Brahmin scholar reached Mahodayapuram and met Kulaśekhara sitting on a throne in the court hall. At this stage in the course of his narrative the commentator gives a long description of the Emperor, which may be compared with the description given by the poet himself in the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa*. Kulaśekhara welcomed him warmly, and taking him to his private chamber, told him that he had composed two dramas, the *Saṃvaraṇa* and the *Dhanañjaya*, following the Dhvani school. Kulaśekhara wanted to know whether the Brahmin scholar approved them or not. The Emperor told him that if they were good, he himself would explain to him how they were to be represented, and later get them staged by actors. The Brahmin scholar wrote the commentaries on the basis of the explanation given by the author himself. In the commentary on the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa* also, he says[46] that he has been able to give the author's own ideas, since the king himself took the role of each character and explained to him how the representation ought to be made.

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[43] तपतीसंवरणसंघटनापटुतरस्य............तस्य राज्ञः कलमराशिपेशलकैदारिककेरलाधिनाथस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणो निजनिवन्धनमद्य वध्नाति वुधहृदयम् ।

[44] उत्तुङ्गघोणमुरुकन्धरमुन्नतांसमंसावलम्बिमणिकर्णिककर्णपाशम् ।
आजानुलम्बिभुजमञ्चितकाञ्चनाभमायामि यस्य वपुरार्तिहरं प्रजानाम् ।।

[45] *TP*, 1604. This portion is quoted in full by Ulūr, *KSC*, I, p. 128f.

"कालेऽथेति वर्तमाने कस्मिंश्चिदह्नि प्रातरुत्थाय चूर्णिकासरिद्वारि अनुष्ठितपूर्वसन्ध्येन दृष्टपरमेश्वरमङ्गलस्थपरमपुरुषेण प्राप्तात्ममन्दिरालिन्ददेशप्रक्षालितकरचरणेन हसन्तिकोद्यत्कृशानुशमितशीतरुग्णेन जपध्यानपरेण मया केरलेश्वरवचनकारी कश्चिद् ब्रह्मबन्धुः समलक्ष्यत ।

स च सत्कृतसत्कारो यथाविधि सुमानितः ।
संपृष्टकुशलप्रश्नः सादरं स्थापितो भुवि ॥

पृष्टागमनहेतुश्च मामवोचदिदं वचः ।
भवन्तमधुना राजा संदिदृक्षुरिति स्म सः ॥

अथ मयामुना सहारूढखट्वाशय्यासम्पादितस्वादुवस्तुसौख्यया नावा चूर्णिकासरिदावाह्यमानया सत्वरं महोदयाख्यं पुरं गम्यते स्म ।

अथ तत्र तथा गच्छन्नपश्यं केरलाधिपम् ।
समासीनं विराजन्तं मध्ये नागारिविष्टरम् ॥

सप्रश्रयमहं तत्र सदस्यवहितोऽगमम् ।
निःस्यन्दमानसुधया वाचा सत्कुरुते स्म माम् ॥

मुहूर्तं स्थितवत्यस्मिन् मय्यत्र स महीपतिः ।
श्रितप्रसादया दृष्टया वीक्षमाणः सभासदः ॥

अनुज्ञाप्योदगात्तस्मान्निरगच्छन् मया सह ।
रहो नर्म वदन् प्रायान्मन्त्रशालामनन्यगाम् ॥

"इह नाटकविच्चुञ्चुं भवन्तमनयं स्मरन् ।
कृत्यमस्ति मया वाच्यं शृणोत्वस्माद् गिरं मम ॥

रचिताद्य मया विद्वन् कथञ्चिन्नाटकद्वयी ।
ध्वनियुक् काव्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते बुधैः ॥

एतस्माद् ध्वनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ।
द्रष्टव्या भवता सेयं नाट्यलक्षणवेदिना ॥

तां पश्यन्नवधार्यैषा सदसद्वेति कथ्यताम् ।
साधुश्चेत् प्रेक्षको भूयाद् भवानस्मि नटस्तथा ॥

प्रयोगमार्गं भवते दर्शयिष्यामि तत्वतः ।
भूयश्चारोपयिष्यामि रङ्गमेतत् कुशीलवैः ॥"

इति तेन प्रोक्तस्तद्दर्शितमार्गप्रयोगोऽहमधुना तत्कृतेऽस्मिन् धनञ्जयनाम्नि नाटके स्थायिभावप्रयोगमार्गप्रवेशिकाश्च प्रदर्शयामि ॥

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[46] R. 3048. अथाहं केरलभूभृत्कृतेऽस्मिन् नाटके स्थायिभावप्रयोगमार्गं च तत्सहृदयःप्रदर्शयामि । कथमिति चेत्

भूभृत् स्वयं भूमिकया निरेत्य निजामलङ्कृत्य तनुं मनस्वी ।
यं दर्शयित्वेति विनिश्चितात्मा प्रयोगमार्गं .... ॥

According to the popular traditions in Kerala this Kulaśekhara is said to have reformed the Kerala stage and adapted many of the well known Sanskrit dramas to this reformed theatre. It is said that in this work he was considerably assisted by a Brahmin named Tolan who composed several humorous verses in Malayalam to be used by the Vidūṣaka while staging the Sanskrit dramas. Many stray verses, both in Sanskrit and in the macaronic Malayalam-Sanskrit mixture called Maṇipravālam, which are attributed to Tolan have come down to us. The suggestion that this Tolan may be identified with the author of the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyās*, first made by the late Kunhikuttan Thampurān of Kotungallur,[47] seems to be quite probable.

Tradition also identifies the dramatist Kulaśekharavarman with the patron of the Yamaka poet Vāsudeva; it is said that Tolan who had no admiration for the scholarly Yamaka poems made fun of them by writing a parody:

थप्रथ नन्दानन्दं पदद्वयं नात्र जनितनन्दानन्दम् ।
तनयं वन्दे वक्या निरर्थकं दलितदानवं देवक्याः ॥

Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer once held the view[48] that Vāsudeva's patron Kulaśekhara is the same as Rājaśekhara mentioned in the *Tripuradahana* verse:[49]

स्वपदपयोजनते यं सदैव सम्पादकं श्रियो जनतेयम् ।
भूतिधरं व्यालपतिस्फुरत्करं राजशेखरं व्यालपति ॥

and that he was to be identified with the Rājaśekhara of Kerala who was a contemporary of Śaṅkara according to the *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Vidyāraṇya. He also said that the three dramas (*nāṭakatrayī*) referred to by Vidyāraṇya[50] as written by the Kerala king are the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa*, the *Subhadrādhanañjaya* and *Vicchinnābhiṣeka*.[51] The *Śaṅkaravijaya* was written centuries after the great Śaṅkara and has not much historical value, being based on legends and traditions. A story, similar to the one narrated there about Śaṅkara and the three dramas of Rājaśekhara, is popular about Śaṅkara and the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra also.[52] Moreover the authorship of *Vicchinnābhiṣeka* is doubtful, for the author of the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* who was a contemporary of Kulaśekhara speaks only of the other two dramas. And the word 'Rājaśekhara' in the *Tripuradahana* verse quoted above does not refer to the name of the king; the word is used to bring out the similarity of the king with Śiva. The commentators explain the word only in that way.[53]

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[47] Preface to *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa*, p. iii. See also K. Kunjunni Raja, *Tolan*, Keralopahāraṁ, 1955.

[48] *Vijñānadīpikā*, I, pp. 17-52; he has given up the view later (*KSC*, I, p. 131), probably on the basis of my paper in the *Siddhabhāratī* on 'Kulaśekhara, the Royal Dramatist of Kerala'.

[49] Canto I, verse 8.

[50] *Śaṅkaravijaya* (Ānandāśramam Series, 22), Canto 14, verses 71-3.

[51] A non-extant work of Kulaśekhara according to one tradition (*Vide BSOS*, III, p. 112). T. Ganapati Sastri (*ibid.*, p. 635) identifies it with the first Act of the *Pratimānāṭaka* and ascribes it to Bhāsa.

Some scholars[54] have tried to identify the dramatist Kulaśekhara with the author of the *Mukundamālā* and the Āḻvār, but without any clear evidence. There is considerable difference in the literary styles of the dramatist and the Vaiṣṇava devotee. And the popular tradition is also against such an identification.[55]

Regarding the date of the dramatist Kulaśekharavarman, there has been great controversy. T. Ganapati Sastri stated in his Preface to the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa* that in the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* commentary on the work by a contemporary of the author, there is a reference to the *Daśarūpaka*,[56] and that the date of Kulaśekhara must, consequently, be later than the tenth century A.D. Scholars like Winternitz,[57] Sten Konow,[58] and Keith[59] accepted this position. K. Rama Pisharoti and Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer refuted this theory, saying that the reference to the *Daśarūpaka* must be an interpolation. Even if it is not an interpolation the reference need not be to the tenth century work by Dhanañjaya, but might be to the eighteenth chapter of Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra.*[60]

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[52] KSSC, I, pp. 318f. According to this Śaṅkara dictates from memory the whole of the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*.

[53] "राजशेखरं राज्ञां क्षत्रियाणां शेखरं शिरोमणिं, राजा चन्द्रः शेखरे यस्येति शिवपक्षः ।" Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary (AL, xx, s.l.).

[54] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Vijñānadīpikā*, I; recently Elankulam Kunhan Pilla tried to identify the dramatist with the Āḻvār (*Cila Keralacaritrapraśnaṅṅal*, Part I).

[55] According to the tradition preserved in *Keralam* by Kunhikuttan Thampuran (Canto III, verses 62, 66 and 156) the Āḻvār is the author of the *Mukundamālā* and is the first Emperor of Kerala, whereas the dramatist is the last one. Of course, these traditional stories cannot be relied on entirely.

[56] नाटकनायकलक्षणं सर्वं दशरूपके द्रष्टव्यम् ।

[57] *Śaktibhadra's Place in the History of Sanskrit Literature*, Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume, Madras.

[58] *Das indische Drama*, 1920, p. 103.

[59] *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 247; *BSOS*, III, p. 296.

Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti argued[61] that the dramatist Kulaśekhara cannot be later than Śaktibhadra, as in the Prologue to the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa* only Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harṣa, and Daṇḍin are mentioned, but not Śaktibhadra.

Refuting this *argumentum ex silentio,* Winternitz says,[62] "The Naṭī who asks the Sūtradhāra if he is going to stage a composition of the great poets Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harṣa Daṇḍin and so on,[63] is not bound to give a complete catalogue of the poets known at that time. That the names are chosen at random may be concluded from the mentioning of Daṇḍin who is not known as a dramatist, while we should expect only authors of dramas to be mentioned." On the other hand Winternitz maintains that Śaktibhadra must have lived before Kulaśekhara, the dramatist, as there is clear reference in the prologue to the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra to the absence of original Sanskrit dramas in Kerala before his time.[64] Again, the Prologue to Śaktibhadra's drama makes it clear that though its author was a South Indian, the play was not supposed to be staged in South India. If Śaktibhadra had lived after Kulaśekhara, or even if he had been a contemporary of that Royal dramatist who was credited with the reformation of the Kerala stage, he would, certainly, have written his drama for being staged on that reformed Kerala stage. But since the date of Śaktibhadra is not fixed with certainty, this cannot help us in finding the exact date of Kulaśekhara. Tradition assigns Śaktibhadra to the beginning of the ninth century;[65] if that is accepted, then Kulaśekhara may be put later than the ninth century.

[60] That chapter is called *Daśarūpaka* according to Abhinavagupta.

[61] *IHQ,* V, p. 552; VII, p. 328f.

[62] *op. cit.,* p. 4.

[63] *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa:* सुछअ कालिदासहर्ष दण्डिप्पमुहाणं महाकईणं ....

[64] See Naṭī's remark in the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi,* (p. 8): अज्ज अच्चाहिदं खुएदं आआसं पसवइ पुप्फं, सिअदाओ तेल्लं उप्पादअंति जइ दखिणाओ दिसाओ आअदं णाडअणिवन्दनम् ।

[65] Tradition makes him a contemporary of Śaṅkara; but the date of Śaṅkara has not been definitely fixed.

Winternitz seems to accept[66] A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar's theory[67] that Kulaśekhara was the Emperor of Kerala between 935-955 A.D. Ramanatha Ayyar takes[68] king Rāma mentioned in Vāsudeva's *Tripuradahana* to be the son and successor of Kulaśekhara referred to in the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* of Vāsudeva, whereas according to the early commentators,[69] Rāma (Rāmavarman) was the personal name of the king, and Kulaśekhara was the title he received when he became the Emperor. He also takes the word 'Rājaśekhara' of the *Tripuradahana* verse mentioned above, as referring to a king, and identifies him with the father of Kulaśekhara.[70] This, we have already seen, is unwarranted.

The mention of Daṇḍin and Harṣa in the Prologue to the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa* makes it clear that Kulaśekhara must be much later than the seventh century A.D. In the commentary on the *Subhadrādhanañjaya*, by the Brahmin contemporary of the author there is clear reference to the superiority of Dhvani Kāvyas:

ध्वनियुक् काव्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते बुधैः ।
एतस्माद् ध्वनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥

This shows that Kulaśekhara is later than Ānandavardhana, the advocate of the Dhvani doctrine, who flourished in the court of king Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.).[71] This gives the upper limit to the date of Kulaśekharavarman.

Regarding the lower limit to his date, we can say that it must be much earlier than the fourteenth century, since in the Malayalam poem called *Uṇṇunīlisandeśa*, a work of the fourteenth century, there is a reference to the acting of the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa* by the professional actors of Kerala.[72]. Kulaśekharavarman's prose work, *Āścaryamañjarīkathā*, is quoted in the commentary on the *Amarakośa* by Rāyamukuṭa (1431 A.D.), and by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda (1159 A.D.);[73] hence the date of Kulaśekhara must be earlier than the twelfth century. Moreover, in the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhaṇa, composed in 1258 A.D.[74] the following verse praising Kulaśekhara's *Āścaryamañjarī* is cited, attributing it to Rājaśekhara.

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[66] *op. cit.*,

[67] *TAS*, V, Part II.

[68] *JRAS*, 1925, p. 226.

[69] See *Vijayadarśikā* by Acyuta (R. 3007): कुलशेखर इत्यभिषेककृतं नाम, पित्रादिकृतं तु रामवर्मेति ।
Ratnapradīpikā of Śivadāsa (quoted in *KSSC*, I, 183): कुलशेखरस्य कुलशेखर इति नामवतः । एतदभिषेक कृतं नाम, पित्रादिकृतं तु रामवर्मेति ।
and *Padārthacintana* by Rāghava (R. 5119): कुलशेखरनाम्नः कुलालङ्कारो भवतीति विचार्य गुरुभिस्तथाकृतनामधेयस्य । पट्टबन्ध इत्यर्थाद्भवति, प्राक् रामनामशालित्वात् ।

[70] *JRAS*, 1925, p. 226.

[71] *HCSL*, p. 740.

दूरादपि सतां चित्ते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।
कुलशेखरवर्म(म्य)श्चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥
(IV. 86)

This verse might quite probably be from Rājaśekhara's non-extant work, *Haravilāsa,* and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.[75] This definitely shows that the dramatist Kulaśekhara cannot be later than Rājaśekhara who lived in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. From these two limits Kulaśekhara's date may be fixed about 900 A.D.

Elsewhere,[76] I have already pointed out that the royal dramatist must have flourished between Ānandavardhana and Rājaśekhara, about 900 A.D. Recently Ilankulam Kunhan Pilla of the Travancore University has taken objection to this view[77] on the ground that the term 'Kulaśekharavarman' by which the dramatist is known, can never be a title like the term 'Kulaśekhara'; he assigns the royal dramatist to the beginning of the ninth century, identifying him with the Āḻvār. But it is impossible to believe that a South Indian commentator could have referred to the Dhvani doctrine, by the term 'Dhvani' itself, so early as 800 A.D. Even on the assumption that the *Kārikas* and the *Vṛtti* of the

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[72] *Uṇṇunīlasandeśa,* Part II, verse 94:

"Kaṇṭomallo taliyil iruvamkūttu nām anrorikkal
Taivam keṭṭāl oru *Tapatiyār* naṅṅayār enne nokki
Anyāsaṅgāt kim api kaluṣā prākṛtam koṇṭavādīt
Pinnekkaṇṭīlaṇaya vivaśam vīrttu maṇṭinra ninne."

(The reference is to the third Act of the drama.)

[73] *CC,* I, p. 56a; Preface to the *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa; HSL,* p. 414.

[74] *HSL,* p. 222.

[75] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer seems to doubt its authenticity without any reason (*KSC,* I, p. 132).

[76] K. Kunjunni Raja, *Kulaśekhara, the Royal Dramatist of Kerala,* Siddhabhārati (Siddhesvara Varma Presentation Volume).

[77] *Cila Keralacaritrapraśnaṅṅal,* Part I.

Dhvanyāloka are by different hands,[78] we cannot take the doctrine to such an early date. We have no reference to this doctrine before Ānandavardhana's time. Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Vāmana and others are silent about it. The earliest writers to refer to the Dhvani doctrine are Mukulabhaṭṭa, Jayantabhaṭṭa and Rājaśekhara, all younger contemporaries of Ānandavardhana.[79] The statement *Budhais samāmnātapūrvaḥ* in the first *Kārika* of the *Dhvanyāloka* refers only to the idea about the importance of suggestion, not to the Dhvani doctrine as such.[80] Ānandavardhana himself says at the end of his work that the Dhvani doctrine has been lying in the minds of the learned in a latent state,[81] and that he is giving expression to it. Hence neither the Dhvani doctrine, nor Kulaśekhara whose contemporary refers to it, can be pushed back to the beginning of the ninth century.

The tentative suggestion that the royal dramatist is identical with the patron of Vāsudeva is now strengthened by the evidence that is obtained from Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa's commentary *Vivaraṇa* on the astronomical work *Laghubhāskarīya.*[82] Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa was a great astronomer patronized by king Ravivarman Kulaśekhara of Kerala; he gives the date of composition of his work as 869 A.D.[83] Prince Rāmavarman mentioned by Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa himself, must have succeeded Ravivarman. From a study of the other historical records it has been suggested[84] that Rāmavarman must have ruled over the country from about 885 A.D. till 913 A.D. We know that Vāsudeva's patron was Rāmavarman Kulaśekhara, and we also know that the dramatist Kulaśekharavarman must have lived about 900 A.D.

(iii) *Works of Kulaśekharavarman*

Among the works of Kulaśekharavarman only the two dramas are available. The prose work *Āścaryamañjarīkathā* is known only through the citations in the commentaries on *Amarakośa* by Sarvānanda and Rāyamukuṭa and the commentary on *Śivakośa*.[85] Rājaśekhara's glowing tribute to it shows that the work must have been very popular even outside Kerala.

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[78] On that problem see P. V. Kane, Introduction to *Sāhityadarpaṇa.* Revised edition, pp. 54-59.

[79] See P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 168: "The words of Mukula ध्वनिरिति.... नूतनतयोपवर्णितस्य should leave no doubt in an unbiassed mind that the reference is to a work recently produced."

[80] For details see K. Kunjunni Raja, *Kulaśekharavarma, MW*, XXXIII, 26, dated 11.9.1955.

[81] स्फुरितप्रसुप्तकल्पं मनस्सु विदुषाम् ।

[82] *TSS*, 162.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 4: एवं शकाब्दाः पुनरिह चन्द्ररन्ध्रमुनिसंख्यया (791 Śaka) अस्माभिरवगताः

[84] Ilankulam Kunhan Pilla, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

The *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa* is a drama which describes in six Acts the story of the love between Tapatī, daughter of the Sun-god, and Saṃvaraṇa, the king of Hastinapura. The plot is taken from the *Mahābhārata* (chapters 171-3 of *Ādi Parvan*). The first three Acts describe the development of the love between the hero and the heroine. Through the grace of the Sun-god the king gains Tapatī for his wife. A boy is born to them; but by the magic practised by her friend Rambhā, Tapatī forgets completely that she gave birth to a child. The attempt of the demoness Mohinikā to kill the child is thus frustrated. In the fifth Act Tapatī is seen going to Heaven at the instance of her father; the king wanders here and there in search of her; but on hearing that a famine is raging in his country, he returns to his capital. In the last Act Mohinikā tries to make the hero, the heroine and her two friends commit suicide; but she is overpowered by Kuru, son of Tapatī and Saṃvaraṇa. And the story ends happily with the reunion of the hero, the heroine and their son.

The *Subhadrādhanañjaya* describes, in five Acts, the well known story of Arjuna's abduction of Subhadrā, from Dvārakā. The fame of Subhadrā's beauty attracts Arjuna to Dvārakā; on the way he rescues a damsel from an invisible spirit, not knowing that it is Subhadrā herself. He falls in love with her at first sight. Subhadrā, whose heart has already been captivated by the fame of Arjuna, is attracted by her protector against her will. In the second Act we find Arjuna going to Dvāraka in the guise of a *saṃnyāsin*, and being received by Kṛṣṇa and Saṅkarṣaṇa. He is taken to Subhadrā who is asked to look after the requirements of the guest. Subhadrā falls in love with the sage, but does not know that it is Arjuna himself. Arjuna, on the other hand, is glad to note that Subhadrā loves him. Now Subhadrā finds herself loving three men at the same time: Arjuna, her protector and the new guest; and being unable to control her mind from diverting to three different men, she decides to commit suicide, rather than be a victim to such an immoral feeling. Arjuna intervenes in time, and explains to her that he is Arjuna himself, and that it is he who rescued her from the evil spirit. They marry secretly with the permission of Kṛṣṇa. In the fourth Act Arjuna abducts Subhadrā, and is persued unsuccessfully by Balarāma, who is later appeased by Kṛṣṇa. In Act five Arjuna swoons at the news that Subhadrā has been carried away by a demon; but Goddess Kātyāyanī herself comes in time rescuing Subhadrā. Thus the story ends in happiness.

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[85] " कुरङ्गैरिव कुशलवादिभिः "Sarvānanda;

" पाणिनिप्रत्याहार इव महाप्राणसमाश्लिष्टो झषालिङ्गितश्च समुद्रः। " Rayamukuṭa;

" तरुणीजन इवाधिगतशोभाञ्जनो वसन्तसमयः प्रादुरासीत्। "

Śivakośa-vyākhyā (Poona, 1952, p. 85).

Kulaśekhara's dramas deserve a place among the classical dramas in Sanskrit literature. They have been very popular in Kerala, and are staged even to this day by the professional actors there.

Besides the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyās,* there are commentaries on the dramas by one Śivarāma,[86] who has also commented on Harṣa's *Nāgānanda.* Śivarama must be later than the twelfth century, since he quotes from *Bhāvaprakāśa.*[87] The commentary on *Dhanañjaya* is called *Vicāratilaka,* and that on *Saṁvaraṇa* is *Vivaraṇa.*

The author of the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* commentaries was a Brahmin contemporary of Kulaśekharavarman; he belonged to Parameśvaramaṅgalam on the banks of the Periyar river. It was his fame as a great art critic that attracted the attention of the king; he was invited to the palace for writing the commentaries, and for supervising the staging of the play. It was he who popularised the Sanskrit dramas in Kerala by introducing humorous verses in Malayalam Sanskrit mixture, in parody of the Sanskrit verses; there is nothing standing in the way of our identifying this commentator with Tolan, famous according to tradition as the court jester of the king and as the author of the humorous verses used during the staging of the Sanskrit plays.[88]

He was a great art critic who wanted to popularise literature and art, and had no admiration for the erudite scholars of the time, like the Yamaka poet Vāsudeva. Tolan is supposed to have written a Mahākāvya called *Mahodayapureśacaritam* in a simple style strictly keeping the normal syntax of the language. The work is non-extant; only two verses, supposed to be from that, have been handed to us through tradition:

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[86] *TSS.* 11 and 13.

[87] *KSC,* I, p. 163.

[88] See my article on *Tolan,* Keralopahāram, 1955, for further details about the possible identification.

> " स्वर्जालिका निर्जरनिर्झरिण्यां यदीयसौधाग्रजुषां वधूनाम् ।
> आलोलदृष्टिप्रकरं समीक्ष्य झषभ्रमाज्जालशतं क्षिपन्ति ॥ "
> " यत्राङ्गनाः प्रावृषि शुष्ककण्ठान् केलीचकोरानतिलङ्घिताभ्रम् ।
> सौधाग्रमानीय समीपभाजा तारासरण्या सह योजयन्ति ॥ "

(iv) *The Yamaka Poet, Vāsudeva*

The *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* of Vāsudeva[89] is one of the best Yamaka Kāvyas in Sanskrit literature. The editors of the Kāvyamālā Series, where it was first published, suggested that Vāsudeva belonged to Kashmir, since manuscripts of the poem are found mostly there, and since Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, a Kashmir scholar of the seventeenth century, has commented on the poem. This view cannot be accepted, for, as Zachariae has pointed out,[90] there can be no doubt about the fact that Vāsudeva belonged to South India. Several manuscripts of the poem are available in Kerala,[91] and many commentaries have been written on the poem by Kerala scholars. The popularity of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* in Kerala in the eighteenth century is attested by Paulino de San Bartholomeo (1748-1806 A.D.) who came to Kerala in the eighteenth century A.D.; he says that the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* was considered as one of the three celebrated works[92] in the land, the other two being *Māgha* and *Bhāgavata*. He himself studied the poem under some Kerala scholars, one of them being Ciangra Aashan (Śaṅkaran Āśān).[93]

From the preamble to the poem we learn that its author Vāsudeva was the student of a rich and generous scholar Parameśvara who, being a great expounder of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, was well-known as Bhārataguru, and who was a Brahmin contemporary of King Kulaśekhara.[94] According to two of the commentaries on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, the *Vijayadarśikā*[95] by Acyuta and the *Ratnapradīpikā*[96] by Śivadāsa, there is a reference in the text itself which shows that King Kulaśekhara had his court at Mahodayapura, the capital of Kerala in ancient times. The commentator Cokkanātha[97] expressly states that Vāsudeva was a Kerala poet.

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[89] Kāvyamālā, 60.

[90] *ZII*, IV, p. 224: "Vāsudeva gehört, daran ist kein Zweifel, dem suden Indiens an."

[91] *TP.*, 1877-1900. See also *TC.* and the *TU.* collections.

[92] *"tres celiberrimi libri."*

[93] *"Lingue Samscrdamicae peritissimus vir Ciangra Aashan"—Systemu Brahmanicum*, p. 194 quoted in *ZII*, IV, p. 230.

According to the popular tradition in Kerala[98] Vāsudeva, author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, was a Bhaṭṭatiri of the Paṭṭattu family of Nambūtiri Brahmins in the village of Perumanam, a few miles to the south of Trichur. The development of his alliterative genius is attributed to the divine blessing of the Deity of the Śāstṛ temple at Tiruvellakkāvu in Perumanam. The story goes that one stormy night he was forced to take shelter in that temple. The Deity took pity on him, and gave him some fuel and fire to warm himself, and a plantain fruit to feed on. By eating that fruit he became an inspired poet. The sweeper woman, belonging to the Vāriyar community, who came early in the morning noticed the metamorphosis of Vāsudeva from a stupid boy to an inspired poet, and hearing his story, she took the rind of the

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तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुरभवदादिनामध्यायी ॥ ७ ॥
यं प्राप रमाचार्यं देवी च गिरां पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तो दान्तम् ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणः शिष्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमदभ्रान्तेन स्मरता भारतसुधामदभ्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपहासाय मिता पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

[95] R. 3007:

“ कुलशेखर इत्यभिषेककृतं नाम पित्रादिकृतं तु रामवर्मेति ।
वसूनि धनानि धाम महोदयाख्यं पुरं चेति द्वन्द्वः ॥ ”

[96] Quoted in *KSSC*, I,183 by V. Rajarajavarma Raja:

कुलशेखरस्य कुलशेखर इति नामवतः । एतदभिषेककृतं नाम ।
पित्रादिकृतं तु रामवर्मेति । वसुधामवतः वसु धनं धाम महोदयाख्यं पुरम् ॥

[97] *Bālavyutpattikāriṇī*, *AL*, xxi. Q. 5: वासुदेवनामा केरलीयकविः ।

[98] *JRAS*, 1925, p. 270f; *JRAS*, 1910, p. 638; *SPT*, I, pp. 320ff.; *KSC*, I, p. 114; *Bhāṣācaritram* by A. Govinda Pilla, p. 14 etc.

fruit that had been thrown away and ate it herself to become a poetess. This story need not be taken seriously; but it shows that the Yamaka poet Vāsudeva had some connection with Perumanam in Kerala.

Vāsudeva and his Yamaka poems are mentioned in some works written by Kerala authors. In the *Pāṇḍavacarita* of unknown authorship, which is traditionally attributed to the sweeper woman of the story given above, Vāsudeva, author of the Yamaka poem on the *Mahābhārata* story, is praised.[99] In the poem *Gajendramokṣa* also there is a reference to Vāsudeva being inspired to write the Yamaka poem by the blessing of God Śāstṛ of Perumanam.[100]

Regarding Vāsudeva's other works it is difficult to say anything definitely. Two more alliterative poems, *Tripuradahana*[101] and *Śaurikathodaya*,[102] are generally attributed to him. Nīlakaṇṭha who has commented on both these poems says that Vāsudeva is the author,[103] and the similarity of the style and the alliterative structure suggests a common authorship for all the three poems.

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[99] R. 3390:

तस्मै नमोऽस्तु कवये वासुदेवाय धीमते ।
येन पार्थकथा रम्या यमिता लोकपावनी ॥

M. Krishnamachariar, says that the author of the *Pāṇḍavacarita* salutes a Vāsudevakavi who wrote a Yamaka poem *Pārthakathā*, and that it is not known what this *Pārthakathā* is: (*HCSL*, p. 252f). The reference is clearly to the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. (*cf.* verse 1.10 there: पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ।

[100] R. 3637f:

कल्याणं कुरुताद्वो भूतानामधिपतिः स करुणाब्धिः ।
रक्षार्थं सुजनानां संनिदधत् पुरुवने पुण्ये ॥
शक्रयोभयरूपः सन् यं किल नाथः स भुवनचक्रस्य ।
चक्रिणि मातरि जनयांबभूव जगदवनजनितरसम् ॥
यस्य च भाजकरूपप्रसादतो विश्ववितत विमलयशाः ।
यमयामास सुमेधाः कथासुधां वासुदेवकविः ॥

Bhūtanātha (Śāstṛ), son of Śiva and Viṣṇu, is the Deity there.

[101] *AL*, XX, s.1; *TP*, 1775 *A*, 1776; *R*, 1852 *A*. Being published in *TSS*.

[102] *DC*, 11815; *R*. 1852b.

[103] Commentary on *Tripuradahana* (*AL*, XXI, s.1):

"त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं काव्यमेतद्विधातुं कविरथ रविसूनुर्वासुदेवाभिधानः ।
निरुपमचरितोक्त्या देवमीशानसंज्ञं नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विघ्नातिभीतः ॥"
रविभुवा रविर्नामास्य कवेः पिता, ततो भवतीति रविभूः, तेन वासुदेवनाम्ना ।

And commentary on *Śaurikathodaya* (*DC*. 11815):

अहमिति कविरात्मानं निर्दिशति, वासुदेवनामाहमित्यर्थः ।

In the introductory verse of the *Tripuradahana* it is said that the poem was composed by the son of Ravi (*Ravibhū*) during the reign of King Rāma.[104] In the *Śaurikathodaya* also the poet eulogizes a king named Rāma.[105] It is quite probable that this Rāma is identical with the king Kulaśekhara praised in the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya,* for the commentators Rāghava, Acyuta and Śivadāsa state that Rāmavarman was the personal name of the king who received the title of Kulaśekhara at the time of coronation. And this Rāmavarman, patron of Vāsudeva, may be identified with the dramatist Kulaśekharavarman who flourished by about 900 A.D.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar propounded the theory[106] that the *Nalodaya* is also a work of this Vāsudeva. One of the commentators attributes it to the son of Ravi,[107] and there is a colophon making Vāsudeva the author of the poem.[108] As in the *Tripuradahana* and the *Śaurikathodaya,* King Rāma is mentioned here also.[109] Zachariae[110] and Keith[111] are inclined to accept this view. But there are some difficulties in accepting this. For a long time the *Nalodaya* had been attributed to Kālidāsa; and since the discovery by Peterson of a manuscript of the poem where the commentator Rāmarṣi (c. 1600 A.D.) attributed it to Ravideva,[112] scholars began to consider it as the work of Ravideva. Some manuscripts attribute it to Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa.[113] Winternitz accepts this view, and assigns the *Rākṣasakāvya* also to him.[114] There are other manuscripts which ascribe the poem to one Keśavāditya.[115] Hence the evidence of a single manuscript cannot be taken as decisive. Moreover, in the *Nalodaya* there is a reference to one Rājāditya,[116] and according to the commentator Viṣṇu, Rājāditya is the title of King Rāma after his coronation.[117] If it is correct, then that Rāma must be different from King Rāma who became Kulaśekhara after his coronation. It may be possible to explain away some of these difficulties.[118] Still it has to be remembered that Vāsudeva's authorship of the *Nalodaya*[119] can be accepted only tentatively, as it does not stand on any decisive evidence.

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[104] "रामसमत्वादेव स्रष्टा रामाख्यमकृत मत्वा देवः ।"
"पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम् ।"

[105] "जयति सुधामा रामः क्षितिपालः काव्यवीरुधामारामः ।"

[106] *JRAS,* 1925, pp. 263-75; *JMS,* XIV, pp. 302-11; *JMS,* XVI, p. 134f.

[107] In *Vivaraṇa* (*TP,* 1795) attributed to Viṣṇu. Quoted in *JRAS,* 1925, p. 268:

रवितनुभूयमितायाः कृतेर्गतिः शब्दचित्रभूयमितायाः ।
जनहासाय मितायाः धियश्च विवृता मयाधुना यमितायाः ॥

[108] Quoted in *JRAS,* 1925, p. 268:

इति नलोदये वासुदेवकृते चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

[109] अस्ति स राजा नीते रामाख्यो यो गतीः परा जानीते ।

[110] *ZII,* IV, p. 225 where he gives another argument that all the works end with a verse in *Pramāṇikā* metre.

[111] *HSL,* pp. 97f.

[112] *JRAS,* Extra Number, 1887, p. 337.

[113] *Cat. BORI,* Vol. XIII, Part 1, No. 306; Tanjore, 3811.

There were many writers in Kerala with the name Vāsudeva, and consequently there has been much confusion among scholars in identifying them correctly.[120] Mr. V. Venkatarama Sarma[121] has taken the author of *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* to be identical with the fifteenth century Vāsudeva of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family who has also written some Yamaka poems. Vedāraṇya, mentioned by Payyūr Vāsudeva, is near Kunnamkulam, and cannot be identified with Puruvana, or Perumanam, about twenty miles away. Payyūr Vāsudeva lived in the fifteenth century, and was a contemporary of Rāghava who wrote a commentary on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya.* Though both Vāsudevas wrote Yamaka poems, Payyūr Vāsudeva was far inferior as a poet to the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya.* Another scholarly work, the *Vāsudevavijaya*[122] illustrating the rules of Pāṇini, is generally ascribed to the author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya;* but actually it is the work of another Vāsudeva of Perumanam who was an elder contemporary of Melpputtūr

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[114] *Geschichte*, III, p. 65.

[115] *Cat. BORI*, Vol. XIII, Part 1, Nos. 307, 309.

[116] Verse 8:

[117] In the commentary by Viṣṇu, quoted in *KSC*, I, p. 119:
राजादित्य इत्यमुष्यैवाभिषेकप्रयुक्तं नाम ।

[118] See *JRAS*, 1925, p. 268, where Ramanatha Ayyar tries to explain away the colophon attributing *Nalodaya* to Ravideva.

[119] V. Rajarajavarma Raja (*KSSC*, I, p. 161) ascribes *Nalodaya* to Ravideva, father of Vāsudeva.

[120] On these Vāsudevas see K. Kunjunni Raja, "Vāsudeva, author of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*", *Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume*, pp. 374-85.

[121] *POC*, Tirupati, pp. 187ff.

[122] First three cantos published in Kāvyamālā, X (pp 62-121).

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa,[123] and who wrote some simple poems like *Govindacarita* under the patronage of King Ravivarman of Veṭṭattunāḍ (Prakāśa).[124]

Th. Zachariae tried[125] to identify Vāsudeva's patron Kulaśekhara with Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, author of the drama called *Pradyumnābhyudaya,*[126] and assign him to the first half of the fourteenth century. But we know from the commentators that Vāsudeva's patron was Rāmavarman Kulaśekhara who had his capital at Mahodayapuram; evidently he cannot be identified with Ravivarman Kulaśekhara who had his capital at Quilon.

(v) *Works of Vāsudeva*

The *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* describes the story of the *Mahābhārata* in eight cantos, called *Āśvāsas* or *Ucchvāsas,* containing about one thousand verses, mostly in the *Āryā* metre.

The first canto mainly describes the marriage of Draupadī; in the second we have Arjuna's abduction of Subhadrā. Descriptions of forest sports, seasons, sun-set, rising of the moon etc., are also found in this canto. The third canto deals with the forest fire, the Rājasūya sacrifice, the gambling and the retirement of the Pāṇḍavas to the forest. The fight between Arjuna and God Śiva as a hunter and Arjuna's trip to Heaven are described in the next canto. The story of Bhīma fetching the Saugandhika flower to Draupadī, the procession of Jayadratha, abduction of Draupadī, the incognito life of the Pāṇḍavas at Virāṭa and the killing of Kīcaka by Bhīma are described in the fifth. The next canto deals with the preparation for the great war. And the last two cantos are concerned with the war. The story ends with a description of the glorious reign of Yudhiṣṭhira who is the hero of the poem.

Even though it is an artificial alliterative poem, its literary merit is of a very high order. Though bound by the laws as to the alliteration in each verse, the poet is able to transcend them because of his command of vocabulary, and specially because of his poetic genius. We never find him struggling for words, unlike later Yamaka poets who have to use rare words and resort to the use of *double entendres* and long compounds for producing

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[123] Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote the *Dhātukāvya* in continuation of this. Winternitz wrongly ascribes the *Dhātukāvya* also to Vāsudeva (*Geschichte,* III, p. 73). Keith also is wrong in saying that it is a continuation of *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* (*HSL,* p. 153n).

[124] K. Kunjunni Raja, *Author of the Vāsudevavijaya, SPT,* XIII, Part 4.

[125] *ZII,* IV, pp. 225-7.

[126] *TSS,* No. 8.

Yamaka. Vāsudeva is always effortless in his attempt at alliteration with simple, ordinary words. By way of illustration one or two verses may be cited :

> " अपि विरसं ग्रामाणां पञ्चकमथवा शमाय संग्रामाणाम् ।
> तेभ्यः पौरव देहि प्रीतिं, प्रीतेषु तेषु पौरवदेहि ॥ "
> (Kṛṣṇa's message to Duryodhana)
>
> " जीवितमङ्ग जनोदस्त्यजत्यसौ दुस्सहोयमङ्गजनोदः ।
> शिरसा याचे दयिते काल्लोऽर्थमनुग्रहे दया चेदयि ते ॥ "
> (Bhīma's words to Draupadī)

The necessity of producing alliteration has not made the poet oblivious to the essential elements of real poetry. Full descriptions of scenes and situations are found in proper places, and the main sentiment *Vīra* is kept prominent throughout, and kindled by other emotions which act in a subsidiary manner.

The *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* has been very popular throughout India, and consequently, there have been several commentaries on the work.[127]

1. *Padārthacintana* by Rāghava,[128] disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha, written at the instance of King Keralavarman of Kolattunāḍ, who ruled over the country from 1422 to 1445 A.D.[129] Rāghava refers to the Deity at Pallikkunnu (Vihāradurga) and might have been a native of the place. His student Śaṅkara, author of the poem *Kṛṣṇavijaya*,[130] who praises him at the beginning of the poem, was also a native of Pallikkunnu and a court poet of King Keralavarman. In the Malayalam poem *Candrotsavam*[131] also Rāghava and Śaṅkara are referred to as poets belonging to Pallikkunnu. In the description of a manuscript of this commentary in the Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,[132] the name of the author is given as Śrīkaṇṭhadāsa; but in the beginning of the commentary it is clearly stated that King Keralavarman of Kolattunāḍ asked Rāghava to write a lucid commentary on the

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[127] For details on the commentaries of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, see K. Kunjunni Raja, *Manuscripts Notes, ALB*, 1946, pp. 109ff.

[128] *R.* 5119; *TP*, 1828-33

[129] This is known from the records available at Chirakkal Palace.

[130] Mangalodayam, Trichur, 1914.

[131] Edited by K. K. Raja, V. Sundra Iyer and Sons, Trichur, 1942.

[132] *R.* 5119. Rāghava is known as Śrīkaṇṭhadasa, as he is the disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha.

poem; Rāghava's preceptor Śrīkaṇṭha is identified by some scholars[133] with the author of the Yamaka poems *Soricarita* and *Raghūdaya.* Rāghava is supposed to have been a member of the Vāriyar community.

2. *Bālavyutpattikāriṇī*[134] of Cokkanātha is an elaborate and lucid commentary, and is very popular in South India. Cokkanātha was the son of Acciyambā and Sudarśanabhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvājagotra and was a follower of Sāma Veda. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar[135] identifies Cokkanātha with the father of Sadāśivamakhin who wrote the *Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa;* this is possible, but not certain.

3. *Śiṣyahitā*[136] by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha of Kashmir was composed in 1661 A.D. when Aurangazeb was the Emperor of India. Ratnakaṇṭha was the son of Śaṅkarakaṇṭha. The commentary was written for the sake of his disciple Gaṅgādhara. The presence of such a commentary by a scholar from Kashmir shows how popular the work had been in North India.

4. *Prakāśikā*[137] by Dharmarāja who belonged to the community of temple priests called Gurukkal, and to the Vatsa gotra, is very lucid, and is intended to be used even by youngsters. The manuscript in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library ends with the twelfth verse of the second Āśvāsa. The colophon calls it *Sadāśivaṭīkā* also.[138]

5. *Vijayadarśikā*[139] by Acyuta is another commentary on the poem. Acyuta must have been a native of Kerala, for he says that Vāsudeva's patron Kulaśekhara had his capital at Mahodayapuram.

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[133] *KSSC,* I, p. 418f.

[134] *DC.* 11635; *AL.* XXI. Q.s. For a detailed study of this commentary see K. Kunjunni Raja, *Manuscripts Notes, ALB,* X, pp. 109-122.

[135] *Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇam and the Vasumatīkalyāṇam, IA,* LIII, (1924), pp. 1ff.

[136] *Kāvyamālā,* No. 60. See the introduction there for further details about the commentator.

[137] Tanjore, 3834.

[138] See the colophon at the end of the first *Āśvāsa:*

इति वासुदेवकविप्रणीतयुधिष्ठिरविजयकाव्यप्रकाशिकायां धर्मराजशिवदीक्षितान्तर्यामिसदाशिवविरचितायां सदाशिवटीकायां प्रथमाश्वासः समाप्तः ।

[139] R. 3007, 3686.

6. *Ratnapradīpikā*[140] by Śivadāsa is similar to the *Vijayadarśikā.*

7. *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*[141] by Śrīkaṇṭha, disciple of another Śrīkaṇṭha, is a unique work. The only manuscript of it is found in the Adyar Library; it contains a statement to the effect that it belonged to Deśamaṅgalam Vāriyam (the house of the Deśamaṅgalam Vāriyars). Hence it is quite possible that the author of the commentary was a member of that family. It is an elaborate and scholarly commentary on the first two *Āśvāsas* of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya,* giving the full derivation of all the words of each verse; it may have been intended as a useful and practical text book on Sanskrit grammar.

8. *Padabhedinī* is another commentary on the work, fragmentary manuscripts of which are known.[142]

Besides these Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer refers[143] to one *Padārthadīpikā* by a disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha; many Malayalam commentaries on the work are also known.[144]

The *Tripuradahana*[145] is a Yamaka poem which describes, in three cantos containing about two hundred verses in all, the destruction of the 'Three Cities' by God Śiva. Three commentaries on the poem are known.

1. *Padārthadīpinī,*[146] by a son of Nityapriya who was a native of Gokarṇa. Its date is not known.

2. *Hṛdayagrāhiṇī* by Paṅkajākṣa is published along with the text in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. This Paṅkajākṣa may be

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[140] *KSSC,* I, p. 183.

[141] *AL.* XXI, Q. 2. For a detailed study of the commentary see K. Kunjunni Raja, "The *Kavikaṇṭābharaṇa* of Śrīkaṇṭha. A practical textbook on Sanskrit Grammar", *ALB,* XVI.

[142] *TP.* 1821, 1822. They contain the first *Āśvāsa* in full, and a portion of the second *Āśvāsa.*

[143] *KSC,* I, p. 121.

[144] *AL.* XXXIV. N. 13; XXXIV. A. 5, etc.

[145] *AL.* XXI. s. 1; *TP.* 1775a, 1776; *R.* 1852a. Being published in *TSS* with Paṅkajākṣa's commentary.

[146] R. 2711. See the verses:

"भजामि गोकर्णनिवासमीशं भुजङ्गभोगाभरणाभिरामम् ।"
"पुरदहनाङ्घ्रिं नत्वा कुरुते नित्यप्रियाख्यमुनितनयः ।
टीकां पदार्थदीपिन्याख्यां पुरदहननामयमकस्य ॥"

identical with the teacher of Mānavikrama of Calicut, mentioned by him in his *Vikramīya* commentary on Murāri's *Anargharāghava.*

3. *Arthaprakāśikā*[147] of Nīlakaṇṭha, a Nambūtiri Brahmin belonging to Mūkkola (Muktisthala) in South Malabar. He was the son of Īśāna and Gaurī. His preceptor Puruṣottama Saraśvati was a famous scholar of the time. From a verse found at the end of the commentary in the Adyar Manuscript of the work[148] we know that Nīlakaṇṭha belonged to the Veṭṭaśśeri family. Besides this Nīlakaṇṭha has also written a commentary of Vāsudeva's other work *Śaurikathodaya;* it is called *Tattvaprakāśikā.* The kings of Cochin, Rājarāja and his successor Rāmavarman, patronized him. The *Arthaprakāśikā* was written when King Rājarāja of Cochin was ruling over the country with the help of Rāmavarman, and the other commentary *Tattvaprakāśikā* was composed by Nīlakaṇṭha, when Rāmavarman had become the king of Cochin, and Godavarman the Yuvarāja.[149] Nīlakaṇṭha is a great scholar, and explains the difficult text correctly and clearly. First he gives the prose order of the verse, and then proceeds with the explanation of the words. Wherever necessary he quotes parallel passages from the *Karṇa Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* and from the *Liṅga Purāṇa.* He also shows how Vāsudeva has strictly followed the principle of having the rhyme throughout by using words of dissimilar declensional cases.

M. Krishnamachariar's identification[150] of Nīlakaṇṭha with the author of *Varṇanāsārasaṅgraha* is not correct, since the author of that anthology is a descendant of the famous Appaya Dīkṣita, and was patronized by Rāmavarman, Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja of Travancore (1758-98 A.D.).[151] It is not easy to determine the date and identity of the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha. There have been several Rāmavarmans and Godavarmans in Cochin, and Rājāraja could be a title applied to any king. From historical records[152] we know that one Vīrakeralavarman was the king of Cochin from 1561 to 1565 A.D., and that he was succeeded by Rāmavarman who ruled till 1601; if we take them to be the Rājarāja and Rāmavarman mentioned by Nīlakaṇṭha, we can assign the commentator to the latter half of the sixteenth century A.D.

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[147] For a detailed study of the work see K. Kunjunni Raja, "The *Arthaprakāśikā* of Nīlakaṇṭha", *ALB,* XI, pp. 212 ff.

[148]

वेवर्णः प्रथमं ततो द्विगुणितष्टः शे च तादृग्विध-
  स्तद्वद्रीति पदान्ततोऽपि सहितः शब्दोऽपि यद्वाचकः ।
तद्धाम्नापि च नीलकण्ठवचसा ख्यातेन चेशानतो
  गौरीगर्भधृतेन तेन रचिता व्याख्या यथाश्रुत्यसौ ॥

[149]

जगति विदितकीर्तौ राजराजे नरेन्द्रे क्षितितलमिदमृद्धं पाति रामेण साकम् ।
रचयति मितमेतां वृत्तिमल्पेतरार्थां गलितगहनभावां नीलकण्ठो द्विजाग्रयः ॥
(*Arthaprakāśikā*)

रामवर्मनृपतौ महीमिमां पाति साकमिह गोदवर्मणा ।
नीलकण्ठमहिताङ्घ्रि (?) कृता सा वृत्तिरान्ध्यमतिदोषहन्त्रयसौ ॥
(*Tattvaprakāśikā*)

[150] *HCSL,* p. 387.

The *Śaurikathodaya*[153] is a Yamaka poem in six cantos depicting the story of Kṛṣṇa as is described in the tenth *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* As an example of the effortless use of Yamaka by the poet, the following description of Kṛṣṇa's childhood may be given:

अपि मुहुरम्वालाल्यां बिभ्राणः शैशवं धुरं वालाल्याम् ।
ह्रस्वाङ्गो पीनांसः सन्नपि हृदयं जहार गोपीनां सः ॥

There are two commentaries on the poem. The *Tattvaprakāśikā* by Nīlakaṇṭha of Mūkkola has already been mentioned above. The other is *Anvayabodhikā* of Nityāmṛtayati of unknown date.[154]

The *Nalodaya*[155] deals with the well-known episode of the *Mahābhārata* describing the story of Nala and Damayantī. "The chief aim of the author is to display his skill in manipulating artificial metres and elaborate tricks of style. The exeguous narrative running through the poem is interrupted by long descriptions and lyrical effusions. The most noteworthy feature of the work is the introduction of rhyme which is employed not only at the end, but in the middle of metrical lines."[156]

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[151] V. Raghavan, *Manuscripts Notes, ALB,* V, pp. 125-8.

[152] V. K. R. Menon, "Chronology of the Cochin Rajas during the Portuguese period" *BRVI,* V, pp. 56 ff. On this problem see also *JORM,* IV, p. 142 ff; *SPT,* VI, pp. 283 ff, *ALB,* XI, p. 212 ff.

[153] *DC.* 11815; *R.* 1852b. It is also called *Śaurikathā.*

[154] *R.* 3718. The commentator's name is given in the colophon at the end of first Canto:

इति शौरिकथाव्याख्यायां नित्यामृतयतिकृतायां प्रथम आश्वासः ।

[155] Edited with metrical translation, W. Yates, Calcutta, 1894; with Latin interpretation by F. Benary, Berolini, 1830; with *Subodinī* commentary of Prajñākaramiśra, Kidderpore, 1813; by Nandalala Sastri, Bombay, 1899; by Pandita Jagannatha Sukla, Calcutta, 1870; by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1873; etc.

There are several commentaries on the *Nalodaya*.[157]

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156. A. A. Macdonell, *India's Past*, 1927, p. 93.

157. (1) By Mallinātha. *DC*. 11846.

(2) *Subodhinī*, by Prajñākaramiśra, a native of Mithilā, and son of Vidyādhara of Puṇyagrāma (Poona). Published by Anantarāmakrishna Kalachikar, Bombay, 1869. The earliest manuscript (*DC*. 11847) is dated Śaka 1735.

(3) By Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. *TP*. 1798 ascribes it to Viṣṇu, while R. 101 and *DC*. 11848, 11849 ascribe it to Kṛṣṇa.

(4) *Yamakabodhinī* of Rāmarṣi, son of Vṛddhavyāsa, composed in 1607 A.D. *JBRAS*, XVIII, p. 334; *Cat. BRI*, Kāvya, 310-13.

(5) *Budhānandinī* by Tiruveṅkaṭasūri, *DC*. 11850.

(6) By Ādityasūri. *DC* 11855; Tanjore, 3821.

(7) *Jaḍāvabodhinī*, by Haribhaṭṭa. *Cat. BRI*, Kāvya, 319; *Cat. Asiatic Society*, Bengal, 89.

(8) *Anvayadīpikā*, by Nṛsiṁhāśrama, Tanjore, 3825, *Cat. BRI*, Kāvya, 320, 322.

(9) *Prakāśinī*, by Śivadatta. *Cat. BRI*, Kāvya, 321.

(10) By Vināyaka. *Cat. BRI*, Kāvya, 323.

(11) *Dīpikā*, by Govindabhaṭṭa. *Cat. BRI*, Kāvya, 320. India Office, 3782; Bombay University, 2172.

(12) *Bhāvabodhinī* or *Bālabodhinī*, by Hariharabhaṭṭa. *Cat. BRI*, Kāvya 322.

(13) *Avacūri* or *Avacūrṇi*. *Cat. BRI*, Kāvya, 315, 316, 324.

(14) *Vivarṇa*, *DC*. 11851; R. 1852d.

(15) *Dīpikā*, by Gaṇeśa, son of Rāmadeva. India Office, 3785; Tanjore, 3824; Bombay University, 2171.

(16) *Nalodayaprakāśikā*, by Bharatasena, son of Gaurāṅgamallika. India Office, 3783.

(17) *Kṛṣṇīya* by Kṛṣṇa, Tanjore, 3816.

(18) *Vibudhacandrikā*, by Manoratha, son of Chatrapa, composed in 1464 A.D., on the banks of the Ganges. Bombay University, 2173.

(19) *Kavihṛdayadarpaṇa* by Śrīkaṇṭha Vāriyar of Deśamaṅgalam family in Kerala. (See *KSC*, I, p. 119f.)

Aufrecht mentions a commentary on the *Nalodaya* by Keśavāditya on the authority of Peterson's *Report* (Report IV, p. 395); but from the description of the same manuscript in the Bhandarkar Institute, it is clear that there is no commentary on it by Keśavāditya. M. Krishnamachariar (*HCSL*, p. 371) refers to a commentary by Jīvānanda published from Calcutta; perhaps he may be referring to the edition of the text with *Subodhinī* of Prajñākaramiśra from Calcutta, 1873. Jīvānanda is only the editor.

CHAPTER II

BILVAMAṄGALA *alias* KṚṢṆA LĪLĀŚUKA

Bilvamaṅgala, or Vilvamaṅgalam, who is also known as Līlāśuka or Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, is one of the most notable writers in the field of devotional lyrics in Sanskrit. As a poet and as a saint he has been very popular throughout the country, and his devotional poems, especially the verses of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* (KK.),[1] have been the source of inspiration to many a religious teacher and devotee of Kṛṣṇa. The popularity of the KK. was so great that its author became a legendary figure, and every part of India claimed him for itself.

(i) *Personal Details*

What we know definitely about the author of the KK. is very little. From the following verse towards the close of the first Canto of the work, *viz.*

ईशानदेवचरणाभरणेन नीलीदामोदरस्थिरयशस्तवकोद्भवेन ।
लीलाशुकेन रचितं तव देव कृष्णकर्णामृतं वहतु कल्पशतान्तरेऽपि ॥

it may be assumed that the author's name was Līlāśuka, that his parents were Dāmodara and Nīlī, and that Līlāśuka was a disciple of Īśānadeva. But even on this point the commentators are not agreed; the Bengal recension has the reading *Nīvī* for *Nīlī*, and the commentators there find it difficult to explain the passage. The South Indian tradition about the parentage of Līlāśuka is probably due to this verse itself. Again, in the first verse of the KK. is the line: 'चिन्तामणिर्जयति सोमगिरिर्गुरुर्मे ।' which has been interpreted in different ways, and has been the source of several legends about the author of the KK. Quite possibly this line means only that Somagiri was a preceptor of Līlāśuka, and that he is referred to here as *Cintāmaṇi*, or the 'Wish-gem'. This Somagiri is, in fact, identified with Īśānadeva by the commentator Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja.[2] But the popular traditions make 'Cintāmaṇi' the name of a courtezan girl to whom Bilvamaṅgala, author of the KK., was very much attached.

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[1] First Canto critically edited by Dr. S. K. De, Dacca University Oriental Publication Series, No. 5, 1938; the Southern recension with three cantos has been published from Vāṇivilāsam Press, Srirangam. Translated into English by M. K. Acharya, Madras, 1924.

[2] Dr. S. K. De's edition of the KK., p. 9. Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer ('Saint Vilvamaṅgala, *POC*, Trivandrum, 1937), and E. V. Raman Nambutiri (Introduction to *Tantrasamuccaya* with Malayalam commentary, Part III, Travancore University Malayalam Series, No. 68, pp. 82ff.) identify this Īśānadeva with the author of the Tantra work *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*.

One legend mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja at the beginning of his commentary on the KK. "gives us the romantic story of the infatuation of a South Indian poet and scholar, named Bilvamaṅgala, living on the western banks of the river Kṛṣṇaveṇa, for a beautiful and accomplished courtezan named Cintāmaṇi, living on the eastern banks of the same river; of his frantic crossing of the river on a dark and stormy night by means of a corpse which he mistook for a piece of drifting wood; of his reckless scaling of the walls of her house by means of a suspended snake which he mistook for a trailing creeper; of his being rebuked by the courtezan, who brought him to his senses by saying that such mad devotion was worthy of a higher object; of his subsequent renunciation and initiation into *saṁnyāsa* by Somagiri; of his journey to Vṛndāvana in quest of his Deity; and of his daily experience of divine grace and beatitude during his journey, which he expressed in this poem and was recorded faithfully by his companions."[3]

The same story is given with slight variations by Gopālabhaṭṭa, a South Indian Scholar, in his *Śravaṇāhlādinī* commentary also.[4] According to that the scene of the story is on the banks of the Ganges. Pāpayallayasūri and Rāmacandra also refer[5] to the story of Bilvamaṅgala's infatuation for Cintāmaṇi. The legend is narrated in full in the *Bhaktamālā* too.[6] According to the traditions in Kerala the incident took place at Kākkatturuttu near Tṛkkaṇāmatilakam, or at Puttancira in North Parur.[7]

There is a story prevalent in Kerala that Līlāśuka composed the verses sitting in front of an image of Kṛṣṇa and that he allowed his disciples to take down only those verses approved by the image by nodding its head; this brings out the deliberateness of the poem much more than the story given by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja that the verses were uttered at random by Līlāśuka in the midst of the Kṛṣṇa-frenzy on his way to Vṛndāvana.

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[3] Introduction to the KK. by Dr. De, p. xxvii, note.

[4] Dr. S. K. De, *op.cit.*, p. lxxxv.

[5] Pāpayallayasūri suggests that the scene of the story was Chicakole. Rāmacandra refers to the legend in the beginning of his commentary, *Bhagavadbhaktirasāyana*.

[6] Dr. S. K. De, *op.cit.*, p. xxviii, n. There is a play in Telugu on this theme.

[7] A. G, Warriyar, *IHQ*, VII, pp. 334ff., Ullūr, *KSC*, I, p. 152.

Almost every province of India has claimed Bilvamaṅgala for itself. "It is said in the Circars that he lived on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇaveṇa and founded a Maṭh at Amareśvara. The legend narrated by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja also locates him on the banks of the Kṛṣṇaveṇa river".[8] "In Bengal and Orissa the story is current that he lived at Jagannāth and was called Bilvamaṅgala on account of the auspicious Bilva tree in his house."[9] The popular tradition in Kerala make him a Malayāli. There are stories connecting Bilvamaṅgala with Trivandrum, Trichur, Calicut and many other places in Kerala.[10] The claim of Bengal and Orissa as the birth place of Bilvamaṅgala is disproved by the biography of Caitanya, according to which it was Caitanya who took a manuscript of the KK. to Bengal from a temple on the banks of the Kṛṣṇaveṇa.[11] Perhaps it is this connection of the KK. with the river Kṛṣṇaveṇa that is responsible for the legend making its author a native of that place.

The suggestion that Vilvamaṅgalam, or Bilvamaṅgala, was the family name of the poet, Kṛṣṇa his personal name and Līlāśuka the name he received when he became a *saṁnyāsin* is noteworthy; for it simplifies some of the problems about the name of the poet. The Nambūtiri Brahmins of Kerala are even now known by their family names, *e.g.*, Melpputtūr, Mahiṣamaṅgalam etc.

Dr. S. K. De's remark[12] that "we have nothing except the evidence of tradition to equate the two names Līlāśuka and Bilvamaṅgala" cannot be accepted as correct, for in the *Bālagopālastuti* manuscript[13] belonging to the fifteenth century A.D., which contains verses from all the three cantos of the KK, the colophon reads :

इति परमहंसपरिव्राजकश्रीपादबिल्वमङ्गलविरचिते श्रीबालगोपालस्तुतिः ।

The *Bilvamaṅgalastotra* manuscript of Bikaner[14] also contains several verses from the KK., and is attributed to Bilvamaṅgala.

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[8] *HCSL*, p. 335.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Farquhar, *An Outline of Religious Literature in India*, Oxford University Press, 1920, p. 308f.

[11] Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Bengali *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, Antya, ix, 304-5 (Referred to by Dr. De, *op cit.*, p. x, n).

[12] *op. cit.*, Addenta, p. 379.

[13] O. C. Gangoly, *Bālagopalastuti of Bilvamaṅgala*, Mālavyaji Commemoration Volume, Banaras, 1932, pp. 285ff.

[14] A copy of the manuscript is with Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

And the name of the author is given as Līlāśuka in the text of the KK. itself. Again, Śārṅgadhara quotes in his anthology a verse from the second canto of the KK.[15] and attributes it to Bilvamaṅgala. Thus the tradition about the identity of Bilvamaṅgala and Līlāśuka is supported by real evidence.

It is quite certain that Kṛṣṇa Līlāśuka, author of the *Puruṣakāra* commentary[16] on the grammatical work *Daiva*, and the Prakrit poem *Siricindhakavva*[17] illustrating the rules of Prakrit grammar, was a scholar from Kerala who was also known as Vilvamaṅgala. His direct disciple Durgāprasādayati, who completed the Prakrit poem and wrote a commentary on it, refers to the poet as Vilvamaṅgala, Cāpamaṅgala and Kodaṇḍamaṅgala;[18] *cāpa* and *kodaṇḍa* are the Sanskrit equivalents for the Malayalam word *Villu* (a bow). This shows that he was a Malayali, and that the term *Vilvamaṅgala* had nothing to do with the Bilva tree; quite possibly the term *Villumaṅgala* or *Villamaṅgala* must have changed into *Bilvamaṅgala* in its migration to the north, where the term *villu* has no special significance. There is nothing which militates against the identification of this scholar grammarian with the author of the KK., even though some scholars are not in favour of such an identification.[19]

(ii) *The Text-Problem of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*

In the introduction to his critical edition of the KK.[20] Dr. S. K. De postulates the theory that the second and third *Āśvāsas* of the KK. included in the South Indian recension are spurious, and that the first *Āśvāsa* alone of the text given uniformly in the Bengal recension is genuine. This is entirely against the accepted tradition in South India, and hence a detailed examination of his arguments will be useful to understand how far his position is acceptable.

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[15] *Śārṅgadharapaddhati,* (Peterson's edition, 1888) verse 72 which is identical with KK. II. 28.

[16] *TSS,* 1.

[17] R. 4156, R. 5156. First canto edited by A. N. Upadhye, *Bharatīyavidyā,* III, i, pp. 60-76.

[18]
"कोदण्डमङ्गलवच्चोगदितेह धाम्नि श्रीकृष्णदर्शनपरः किल कर्णभृत्यः (?) ।
जातः क्रमेण परहंसपदे स्थितेऽस्मिन्...."
"श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुकबद्धकाव्यं...."
"चावमगलधरो जईसरो विल्लमंगलधरो वहोइ जो ।"

[19] Dr. S. K. De, *op.cit.,* p. 380.

[20] Dacca University Oriental Publication Series, 5.

"The Bengal tradition appears to have originated from the time of Caitanya (1486-1533 A.D.)"[21] who is said to have come across a manuscript of the KK. "at a certain temple on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇāveṇa near Pandharpur"[22] in the course of his pilgrimage in Southern and Western India. Caitanya brought it to Bengal and introduced it to his followers. It became very popular there, and many commentaries came to be written on the poem. Of these the *Kṛṣṇavallabhā* of Draviḍa Gopālabhaṭṭa, a South Indian scholar who was an immediate disciple of Caitanya, was the earliest; the *Subodhinī* of Caitanyadāsa appeared in the same century; and a little later Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja composed the more popular and elaborate commentary called *Sāraṅgaraṅgadā*.[23] All these commentators accept only the first canto of the KK. as genuine. "This tradition regarding the KK. obtaining in Bengal from the beginning of the sixteenth century", says Dr. De, "is not altogether negligible".[24]

On the other hand, the tradition in South India about the genuineness of all the three cantos of the KK. is, according to Dr. De, very late. Pāpayallayasūri who represents the South Indian tradition is certainly later than Mallinātha, and may even be later than Caitanya.[25] If the KK. was known in three cantos in the fifteenth century, it is difficult to explain why Caitanya took back with him only one canto of the book. Dr. S. K. De suggests that "it would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that the two other *Śatakas*, apparently unknown to him, but known to Pāpayallayasūri and to comparatively recent South Indian and Western manuscripts arose at a somewhat later date."[26]

Another argument that Dr. S. K. De adduces to support his theory is based on the fact that in the *Padyāvali* of Rūpagosvāmin, a contemporary and disciple of Caitanya, verses from the second and third cantos of the South Indian recension of the KK. are found, which is against the clear statement of the author at the

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21. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. ix.
22. *Ibid.*, p. x, note.
23. All these three commentaries are published in De's edition.
24. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xi.
25. *Ibid.*, p. xi, n.
26. *Ibid.*

end of the anthology that "he has deliberately refrained from including the verses of Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala."[27] And no verse from the first canto of the KK. is found in the *Padyāvali.* This indicates, it is argued, that Rūpagosvāmin took the first *Śataka* as genuine, but not the other two *Śatakas.*[28]

Thus it seems probable, according to Dr. De, that in Bengal "the tradition of the text was better preserved and less modified than in its place of origin."[29] He says: "It is undoubted that verses of other authors, some known and some unknown, went into the making of the last two *Śatakas* and swelled their bulk.... Their nucleus might have been drawn from verses occurring in other stotra-like works composed by, or ascribed to, Bilvamaṅgala, and around this might have woven verses of less known writers, which with their authorship forgotten, came to be confused with the genuine verses of Bilvamaṅgala."[30]

Dr. De's conclusion that the nucleus of the second and third *Śatakas* of the KK. was made up by the verses culled from other poems ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala is mainly based on the assumption that, while it is possible to trace a good number of verses of the last two cantos of the KK. in all the apocrypha ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, verses from the first canto of the KK. are not found in any of them. In a later article he repeats the same argument thus:[31] "I have already discussed the question at some length and tried to show that these apocryphal works are *independent* collections of miscellaneous Kṛṣṇite verses ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, which supply the nucleus of the second and third *Āśvāsas* of the South Indian recension. We can, therefore, trace a good number of verses of these two *Āśvāsas* in all of them, but *no verse of the first Āśvāsa occurs in any of them.*"[32]

Let us consider how far this assumption is accurate. Even in *Sumaṅgalastotra* of Bilvamaṅgala described by Eggeling the first verse is identical with the first verse of Canto I of the KK.[33] In the fragmentary West Indian illustrated manuscript of the *Bālagopālastuti* belonging to the middle of the fifteenth century discovered by O. C. Gangoly, we find, along with some verses from the second and third cantos of the KK., *four verses* from the first canto itself.[34] Again, in the Bikaner manuscript of the *Bilvamaṅgalastotra*,[35] which is complete and which on examination is found to be only another version of the *Bālagopālastuti* discovered by Gangoly, there are *twelve verses* from the first canto of the KK. (including the four verses found in the *Bālagopālastuti*). All these twelve verses are found in the *Kṛṣṇabālacarita* of Bilvamaṅgala, of which a manuscript dated 1818 A.D. is in the Bhandarkar Institute.[36] Though this manuscript contains only 285 verses as against 360 of the *Bilvamaṅgalastotra* of Bikaner, and though the order of the verses is also different, still this appears to be a third version of the same work. I shall give below a table giving the verses of Canto I of the KK. found in these works:

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[27] *Ibid.,* pp. xiii-xvi.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. xvi.

[29] *Ibid.,* p. xviii.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. xix.

[31] Dr. S. K. De, *The Viṣṇustuti and the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta, IHQ,* XX, pp. 179-81 (A reply to the criticism made by H. G. Narahari, *ALB,* VIII, pp. 43-5).

[32] Italics mine.

[33] Dr. De has noted this in his Introduction to the KK, p. xxi.

Verse	KK. (I)	Bilvamaṅgalastotra	*Kṛṣṇabāla carita*	*Bālagopālastuti*
कारुण्यकर्बुर ...	25	107	212	—
कलक्वणितकङ्कणं ...	20	110	81	99
मम चेतसि स्फुरतु ...	17	202	46	199
मुकुलायमान ...	6	203	45	—
पल्लवारुणपाणि ...	9	204	237	—
अस्तिस्वस्तरुणी ...	2	205	49	—
मयि प्रसादं ...	29	224	77	222
तरुणारुणकरुणा ...	18	227	85	—
चिन्तामणिर्जयति ...	1	237	197	—
विचित्रपत्राङ्कुर ...	22	242	238	—
परिपालय नः ...	62	245	240	243
मधुरं मधुर ...	92	341	84	—

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[34] Dr. De admits this also. See *Addenda* to the KK, p. 373.

[35] Dr. De's suggestion that this might be another version of the *Kṛṣṇastotra* (Introduction to KK, p. xxiii) is not correct; from a detailed study of the Ms. it is found that this is only a version of the *Bālagopālastuti*. Of the 80 verses (including the 30 unidentified) from that Ms. noted by Dr. De (*Addenda* to the KK) as many as 77 are found in the Bikaner Ms. The order is also found to be the same. The Bikaner Ms. is a *Textus Ornatior*, whereas the *Bālagopālastuti* is a *Textus Simplicior*.

[36] Introduction to the KK, p. xix, 1.

Besides these, there are possibly many other Stotras attributed to Bilvamaṅgala which have not yet been fully examined. Even in the case of the *Viṣṇustuti* manuscript of the Adyar Library[37] we cannot say that the work does not contain any verse from the first canto of the KK, even though in the available portion of the manuscript no verse from that canto is found. In the light of all the above mentioned data, to assert that no verse from the first *Āśvāsa* of the KK. occurs in any of the apocryphal collectanea of Kṛṣṇa verses ascrfbed to Bilvamaṅgala is not correct.

If the presence of some verse from the second and third cantos of the KK. in other works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala is accepted as sufficient evidence to indicate that the nucleus of these cantos "was supplied by verses taken from the genuine or spurious works of Bilvamaṅgala",[38] we will have to accept that same is the case with the first canto also, since verses from that are found in some of the works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala.

Dr. De's suggestion about the *Stotra* works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala being the nucleus of the last two cantos of the KK. presupposes the assumption that those collectanea of verses are earlier than the two cantos of the KK. Now since verses from such works are found even in the first canto, we will have to assume, if we accept Dr. De's argument, that all the three cantos of the KK. are later than these apocryphal works. But this does not seem to be the case. A close study of some of these Stotra works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala shows that they are later compilations from various sources and cannot claim to be the nucleus of the KK. In the Bikaner manuscript of the *Bilvamaṅgalastotra*, for instance, we have verses from the *Bhāgavata*, the *Mukundamālā*, the *Daśakumāracarita*, and Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇacampū*.[39] The

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[37] *AL*. XL. A. 116. On this Ms. see H. G. Narahari, "An Early Manuscript of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala", *ALB*, VIII, pp. 43-5.

[38] Introduction to the KK, p. xxiii.

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(i)	सविस्मयोत्फुल्लविलोचनो	B. 375	*Bhāgavata*, X. 3. 11
(ii)	महार्हवैडूर्यकिरीट	B. 358	.. .. X. 3. 11
(iii)	क्षीरसागरतरङ्ग	B. 125	*Mukundamālā* (Kāvyamālā Ed.)
(iv)	वन्दे मुकुन्दमरविन्द	B. 215	..
(v)	नमामि नारायणपाद	B. 58	.. (Annamalai Edition)
(vi)	अधर्ण्डच्छत्रदण्डः	B. 116	*Daśakumāracarita*, first verse (Beginning ब्रह्माण्डछत्रदण्डः...)
(vii)	रेखारथाङ्गसरसीरुह	B. 259	*Rāmāyaṇacampū*, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, verse 28.

KK. forms the main source for all these *Stotra* works attributed to Bilvamaṅgala.

It is quite possible that the text of the KK. was not entirely free from interpolations. It was also subject to the fate of all the popular works like the *Bhartṛhariśatakas* and the *Amaruka-śataka.* The presence of some interpolated verses is no evidence to the spurious nature of a poem.

It has also to be remembered in this connection that the South Indian tradition has been uniform regarding the existence of the text of the KK. in three cantos. Not only the commentary of Pāpayallayasūri,[40] but also the *Prapā* commentary of Śaṅkara noticed by Kathāvate,[41] the *Kṛṣṇānandaprakāśinī* noticed by R. G. Bhandarkar,[42] the *Suvarṇapātrī* by Brahmadatta,[43] and the commentary of Āvanchi Rāmacandra[44] all accept the text as containing more than one canto. The date of many of these commentaries may be very late; but they must have been following an earlier tradition. It is interesting to note in this connection that at the end of the Kerala version of the KK. there is a verse[45] saying that the text contains 303 verses. This tradition existing in the place of origin of the text cannot be brushed aside without sufficient evidence.

The evidence of the *Padyāvali* adduced by Dr. De in support of his theory does not prove anything beyond the fact that Rupagosvāmin did not know that those eleven verses, which are found in the last two cantos of the KK. and which are quoted in the *Padyāvali,* really belonged to Bilvamaṅgala.[46]

Dr. De has made it sufficiently clear that the Bengal tradition dating back to the sixteenth century knows only Canto I of the

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[40] Published from Srirangam (no date).

[41] *Report* on the Search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Presidency during 1891-95, 1901, p. 31, No. 465.

[42] *Report,* 1882-83, p. 64, No. 465.

[43] See Dr. De, Introduction to KK, p. xii.

[44] *Addenda* to the KK; also *HCSL,* p. 339.

[45] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Saint Vilvamangala, POC,* Trivandrum, p. 475:

कर्णामृतं भगवतश्चरितं रसज्ञः श्लोकत्रयाधिकशतत्रयमादरेण ।
शृण्वन् पठन्नुदिनं समुपैति सिद्धिं सिद्धो यथा सकललोकविहाररूपाम् ।

[46] Or it may even be that they are interpolations. See H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.,* p. 45.

KK. as genuine. This may be, as he has suggested, due to the fact that Caitanya got only the first canto in the course of his South Indian tour. Now a question arises: why was it that Caitanya did not get all the three cantos of the KK, if they were known at that time? Dr. S. K. De's answer is that the KK. contained only the first canto then. Evidently this is against the South Indian tradition. Another equally possible answer can also be given to the question, which does not militate against the South Indian tradition. The manuscript that Caitanya came across might have contained only one canto. It is a well-known fact that fragmentary manuscripts of popular works do exist even now, which contain only the first one or two cantos. Perhaps, even Caitanya had not realized that it was incomplete, for otherwise he would certainly have tried his best to get a complete manuscript of the work. And Caitanya's followers might have attached special importance to the first canto as that chosen by their preceptor.

The argument based on the difference in literary merit is, as he has himself admitted, unsafe. The position of the verse referring to the author towards the close of the first canto is also not a conclusive evidence for the spuriousness of the other two cantos.

Thus the Bengal tradition does not necessarily show that the last two cantos of the KK. are spurious. We have already seen that the other important basis for his theory, *viz.*, the assumption that no verse from the first canto of the KK. occurs in any of the collections of Kṛṣṇa verses attributed to Bilvamaṅgala, is not correct. Hence it may be safely maintained that Dr. De's theory about the spuriousness of the second and third cantos of the KK. cannot be taken as established, and that at best it still remains a hypothesis.

(iii) *Date of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*

Though the problem of the date of the KK has received the attention of scholars, no definite conclusion has been reached on that till now. According to Farquhar,[47] Bilvamaṅgala, author of the KK, flourished in the fifteenth century and belonged to the Viṣṇusvāmin sect. But Bilvamaṅgala's affiliation to the Viṣṇusvāmin sect is extremely doubtful, and Farquhar does not give any evidence to support the date he has assigned to Bilvamaṅgala.[48] Winternitz[49] and Keith[50] put Bilvamaṅgala in the eleventh century without giving any evidence for that date.

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[47] *An Outline of Religious Literature in India*, p. 304.

According to K. Rama Pisharoti[51] there were three Vilvamaṅgalas: the first was the author of the KK and flourished in the ninth century A.D.; the second Vilvamaṅgala is identified with the grammarian who wrote the *Puruṣakāra* commentary on *Daiva;* and the third was a contemporary of Mānaveda, Zamorin of Calicut, who flourished in the seventeenth century. He says that there is a tradition that the Padmanābha temple at Trivandrum was founded by Vilvamaṅgala, and that the date of foundation of the temple is expressed by the traditional chronogram *ābrahma,* which, if taken as referring to the days of the Kollam era that had elapsed at that time, would correspond to 827 A.D. Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer refutes[52] this on the ground that according to the *Anantaśayanakṣetramāhātmya* the founder of the temple was not Vilvamaṅgala, but a Tulu Brahmin named Divākara. He also says that the temple existed even before the ninth century. But in fact there is a story connecting Vilvamaṅgalam with the Padmanābha temple at Trivandrum,[53] in spite of the different version given by the *Māhātmya.* Still it is only a story, and, cannot be considered as important in fixing the date of Vilvamaṅgala. Another difficulty in Pisharoti's argument is that there is no authority for taking the chronogram as referring to the days of the Kollam era; such a method is quite unknown in Kerala.

Mr. A. Govinda Warriyar argues[54] that in a commentary on one of the works of Śaṅkara, Vilvamaṅgala has admitted that he is a disciple of Padmapāda, and that Vilvamaṅgala must, therefore, be assigned to the ninth century A.D. But the reference to Padmapāda is in the commentary on the *Siricindhakavvam* by Durgāprasādayati,[55] which is definitely later than the twelfth century. Hence the reference to Padmapāda cannot be taken to mean that its author was a direct disciple of Padmapāda.

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[48] Dr. S. K. De, Introduction to the KK, p. xxviii.

[49] *Geschichte,* III, p. 124.

[50] *HSL.,* p. 218.

[51] *Kṛṣṇas of Kerala, BRW,* VI, pp. 69ff. T. Govinda Warriyar supports this view (*IHQ,* VII, pp. 334ff).

[52] *POC.,* Trivandrum, p. 473.

[53] Cf. Farquhar, *loc. cit.,* also K. Kunjunni Raja, *Date of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtam,* Mangalodayam, XX, p. 243.

[54] *IHQ,* VII, p. 334 ff.

Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer has tried[56] to give the upper limit to the date of the KK as 1200 A.D. He says that in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharasena composed in 1205 A.D., under the patronage of King Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, verses from the *Mukundamālā* of Kulaśekhara are quoted, but not any verse from the KK. From this he infers that the poem could not have been popular in Bengal in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and that, therefore, the upper limit to the date of the KK must be 1200 A.D. The absence of any verse from the KK in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* shows that the tradition about the KK being first introduced in Bengal by Caitanya is correct. Even though it cannot be taken as a conclusive evidence for fixing the date of the KK, it shows that the date could not have been much earlier, as otherwise these devotional verses would have somehow found their way to the north. Another argument adduced by Mr. Iyer[57] to fix the upper limit to the date of the KK is the reference to the Rādhā cult in the KK. He says: "It seems doubtful whether the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, which was to attain unique prominence in Bengal from the sixteenth century onwards, and which is picturesquely held up for worship in the KK, had any position worth mentioning, and whether the *Brahmavaivarta,* the latest of the Purāṇas in which it is advocated for the first time, had become popular in Kerala in the ninth century A.D." This is not a weighty argument, for though Farquhar also takes the view that probably the Rādhā worship was organized about 1100 A.D., we have clear references to the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story even before the ninth century. Rādhikā is mentioned in one of the introductory verses of the *Veṇīsaṃhāra* which is not later than the eighth century;[58] and in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana of the ninth century also there is a verse referring to the love of Kṛṣṇa for Rādhā.[59] Moreover, references to Rādhā can be found in the *Padmapurāṇa*, the *Varāhapurāṇa* and the *Liṅgapurāṇa*.[60]

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[55]

श्रीपद्मपादमुनिवर्यविनेयवर्गश्रीभूषणं मुनिरसौ कविसार्वभौमः ।
श्रीकृष्णरूपपरमामृतपानशीलश्चक्रे तदीयचरितं बहुधा हिताय ॥

[56] *loc. cit.*

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[58] *Veṇīsaṁhāra*. I. verse 2:

कालिन्दीपुलिनेषु केलिकुपितामुत्सृज्य रासे रसं
गच्छन्तीमनुगच्छतोऽश्रुकलुषो कंसद्विषो राधिकाम् ।

It is possible anyhow, to fix some lower limit to the date of the KK. Gaṅgādevī, the consort of Vīrakampana (1343-1379 A.D.), refers to the KK in her *Madhurāvijaya* in the following verse:[61]

मन्दारमञ्जरीस्यन्दमकरन्दरसोर्मयः ।
कस्य नाह्लादनायालं कर्णामृतकवेर्गिरः ॥

In the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* composed in 1363 A.D., a verse from the second canto of the KK is quoted and ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala.[62] Many collections of Kṛṣṇa verses attributed to Bilvamaṅgala have been discovered from various parts of India. The *Viṣṇustuti* of Bilvamaṅgala, now in the Adyar Library,[63] was copied in 1418 A.D., somewhere in Deccan or Central India. An illustrated *Bālagopālastuti* attributed to Bilvamaṅgala and containing several verses from all the three cantos of the KK, has been discovered by O. C. Gangoly;[64] and it has been assigned to the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. An examination of these and similar other works shows that the verses of Bilvamaṅgala had become very popular long before the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., Gaṅgadevī's reference to the KK shows that it must have been very popular in South India even in the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. Therefore 1300 A.D., may be given as the *terminus ad quem* for the date of the KK.

In Gadā's *Sampradāyakuladīpikā* composed in 1554 A.D., it is stated that Jayadeva was in his previous incarnation Bilvamaṅgala.[65] Seshagiri Sastri refers to this tradition, and says that this may suggest that Bilvamaṅgala was earlier than Jayadeva.[66] If

[59]

तेषां गोपवधूविलाससुहृदां राधारहःसाक्षिणां
क्षेमं भद्र कलिन्दशैलतनयातीरे लतावेश्मनाम् ।

[60] See K. K. Handiqui, *Naiṣadhīyacarita of Śrīharṣa*, Lahore, 1934, p. 527.

[61] Harihara Sastri and Srinivasa Sastri, *Some Later poets mentioned in the Madhurāvijaya, QJMS*, X, p. 381 f.

[62] *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, verse 72, which is identical with verse 28 of Canto II of the KK. (परमिमसुपदेशमाद्रियध्वं........)

[63] *ALB*, VIII, pp. 43 ff.

[64] *Mālavya Commemoration Volume*, Benaras, 1932, pp. 286-8; *JAHRS*, IV, pp. 86-88; also Dr. De, Addenda to the KK, p. 372f.

[65] Seshagiri Sastri, *Report*, I, p. 14.

[66] *Ibid.* See also *Report* II, p. 57f.

that is so, then Bilvamaṅgala must be earlier than the twelfth century. But this cannot be a conclusive evidence. The attempt[67] to shift the lower limit for the date of the KK to 1176 A.D., on the basis of the existence a verse from the second canto of the KK in the *Alaṅkāramahodadhi* cannot be considered as a success, since the verse is found in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*,[68] and also in Kṣemendra's *Aucityavicāracarcā*[69] belonging to the eleventh century. Kṣemendra attributes this verse to one Candaka; hence it is better to take it as an interpolation in the text of the KK.[70]

All that we can say definitely about the date of the KK is that it cannot be later than 1300 A.D., and that it cannot be more than two or three centuries earlier than that. If we can identify the author of the KK with the grammarian Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, then his date can be fixed much more accurately.

The *Puruṣakāra* commentary on the grammatical work *Daiva* was published along with the text as the first number of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The name of the commentator is given there as Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka. In this commentary there are quotations from the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhojarāja (11th century), the *Dhātupāṭha* of Hemacandra (1088-1172) and the *Kavikāmadhenu* of Vopadeva. Of these Vopadeva is the latest and lived in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D.[71] Hence the *Puruṣakāra* cannot be much earlier than 1300 A.D. The date 1220-1300 A.D. assigned to its author by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer seems a bit too early, since Vopadeva's date is the second half of the thirteenth century.[72] The *Puruṣakāra* is in turn referred to by Mādhava in the *Dhātuvṛtti* in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D.[73] this gives the *terminus ad quem* to the date of the *Puruṣakāra*.[74]

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67. H. G. Narahari, *IHQ*, XX, p. 86f.
68. Edited by Ramavatara Sarma and Hardatta Sarma, Lahore, 1. 51. 1.
69. Kāvyamālā, I, p. 131.
70. It is quoted as anonymous in *Subhāṣitāvali* (Ed. Peterson), 40; and in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (Ed. Peterson), 4016. The verse begins thus:

“ कृष्णेनाम्ब गतेन रन्तुमधुना मृद भक्षिता स्वेच्छया ”

See also Dr. De's note in Appendix to KK.

71. *Geschichte*, III, pp. 402, 553.
72. *POC*, Trivandrum, p. 476.
73. Introduction to *Daiva*, *TSS*. I.
74. M. Ramakrishna Kavi (*JAHRS*, III, i, pp. 67-71) fixes the date of the author as 1250-1350 A.D.

The *Siricindhakavva* (Śrīcihnakāvya),[75] also called *Govindābhiṣeka* is a Prakrit poem illustrating the rules of Prakrit grammar in twelve cantos. The first eight cantos are by one Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, also known as Vilvamaṅgala, and illustrate the rules Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa;* the last four cantos, as well as the commentary called *Bhaktivilāsa,* are by his direct disciple *Durgāprasādayati.* The commentator tells us[76] that the author of the poem is Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka who was one of the greatest in the line of disciples of Padmapāda, and that he belonged to a house called variously as Kodaṇḍamaṅgala, Cāpamaṅgala or Vilvamaṅgala. *Kodaṇḍa* and *cāpa* being the Sanskrit equivalents of the Malayalam word *Villu* (a bow), this reference to the house-name suggests that Līlāśuka was a Malayali.[77] The fact that Durgāprasādayati was a direct disciple of Līlāśuka is suggested by the use of the word *taccaraṇābjabhṛṅgaḥ* (a bee on the lotus of his feet) by which he refers to himself.[78] He says that in completing the work and in commenting on it his intention is not to parade his ability as compared to that of his preceptor.[79]

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[75] First Canto edited by A. N. Upadhye, *Bhāratīya Vidyā,* III, i, pp. 60-76. For manuscripts see R. 4156; R. 5156.

[76] See the introductory portion of the commentary:

श्रीपद्मपादमुनिवर्यविनेयवर्गश्रीभूषणं मुनिरसौ कविसार्वभौमः ।
श्रीकृष्णरूपपरमामृतपानशीलश्चक्रे तदीयचरितं वहुधा हिताय ॥

[77] See the verses:

"कोदण्डमङ्गलवचोगदिते हि धाम्नि श्रीकृष्णदर्शनपरः किल कर्णभृत्यः (?) ।"
(Canto I)

"चावमंगलधरो जईसरो विल्लमंगलधरो वहोइ जो ।"
(Canto XII)

[78]

"श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुकनामधेयं नत्वा मुनिं तच्चरणाब्जभृङ्गः ।
श्रीचिह्नकाव्यस्य पदार्थमात्रं वक्तुं यते विस्तरभीहिताय ।
(Introduction to the commentary)

[79]

"श्रीकृष्णाद्वैतप्रत्यग्ब्रह्मोपदेशात् सर्वगुरोः विशेषेण मम सम्प्रदायगुरोः श्रीकृष्णलीलाशुकमुखेन यथाशक्ति स्वापेक्षितपरिपूरणेन परिचरणमेव मया कृतं, न तु तदपेक्षया परमाणुकल्पस्य मे सामर्थ्यप्रकटना कृता ।

Quoted by A. N. Upadhye, *op. cit.,* p. 64. This preceptor is different from Līlāśuka, and might be Śrīrāma Tīrtha.

Durgāprasādayati, who was a younger contemporary of Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, has used the sūtras of Trivikrama's Prakrit grammar. Since Trivikrama is assigned to the thirteenth century, he and his preceptor Līlāśuka cannot be earlier than that. Durgāprasādayati has given some details about himself in his work. He belonged to Agaṭṭiyūr (Agastyakagrāma) near Kunnamkulam. His house-name was Paṭṭi Tekkeṭam, a Nambutiri Brahmin house which is even now in existence.[80] He became a *saṁnyāsin* of the Tekke Maṭham, traditionally supposed to have been founded by Padmapāda. His preceptor Līlāśuka must have also belonged to this Mutt; that explains his being called the foremost among the disciples of Padmapāda. Durgāprasādayati was a great devotee of the Goddess at Mūkkola (Muktisthala).[81] In composing the work he was assisted by one Rāma Pisharoti of Koṭamaṇṇu (Kroḍamṛd).[82] This Durgāprasāda Yati is identical with Nārāyaṇapriya Yati, author of the *Sneha*[83] commentary on Bodhānanda's

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[80]

वल्यङ्कितः पूर्वपकारशोभिद्विरूपतोपेतटवर्ण एषः ।
प्रवक्ति येषां खलु नामधेयमगस्त्यकग्रामभुवं गतानाम् ॥
गृहेषु ये दक्षिणभागसंज्ञे तेषूपजातात्मकलेबरेषु ।
मोक्षाश्रमी, तेन परं निबद्धा व्याख्या मुदा शोधकसद्बलेन ॥

At the end of the commentary

[81]

मुक्तिस्थलालयशिवापदभक्तिलेशाद्
दुर्गाप्रसादयतिरित्यभिधां दधानः ।
कर्ता स्वयं सुकृतमात्रफलान्यभीप्सुः
कृष्णेऽर्पयाम्यथ विशुद्धिकरा महान्तः ।

(Canto XII)

[82]

कोक्कारटमकारश्च णत्वद्वित्वोपशोभितः ।
क्रमाद् भवति यो रामः सहकारी स वैष्णवः ॥

(At the end)

Also the following verse:—

"क्रोडमृद्विदितरामवैष्णवः काव्यदेवगुरुविप्रभक्तिमान् ।
अस्ति हन्त सहकारितां गतः स्वस्तये जगत उद्यतस्य मे ॥

Some take the reading पंल्यङ्कित for वल्यङ्कित and explain that the house-name of Durgāprasādayati is *Paṭṭapalli*. (*KSC*., I. p. 157).

[83] R.2934. This too contains the lines "वल्यङ्कित....."; but is attributed to Nārāyaṇapriyayati

Kaivalyanavanīta and the *Advaita Prakāśa*.[84] From these we learn that he was a student of Śrīrāma Tīrtha and Govindāśrama.[85]

It may be safely assumed that Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, author of the *Puruṣakāra,* is identical with the author of the *Śrīcihnakāvya* and that he flourished towards the beginning of the fourteenth century. The commentary called *Śaṅkarahṛdayaṅgamā* on the *Kenopaniṣad* is also likely to be by the same scholar. Since even the KK shows the deliberate art of a scholar devotee, there is nothing against identifying its author Līlāśuka with the grammarian Līlāśuka. If this identification is accepted, his date can be fixed by about 1300 A.D., since he quotes Vopadeva who lived in the second half of the thirteenth century, and since Gaṅgadevī refers to him in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D.

(iv) *Works Attributed to Bilvamaṅgala*

There are several collections of Stotra verses attributed to Bilvamaṅgala found in different parts of India. Many of them contain several verses from the KK. The Adyar Manuscript *Viṣṇustuti*,[86] the *Bālagopālastuti*,[87] the *Kṛṣṇastotra* and the *Sumaṅgalastotra*,[88] the *Bilvamaṅgalastotra*,[89] and the *Bilvamaṅgalakośakāvya*[90] are important among these. The *Kṛṣṇabālacarita*[91] and the *Bilvamaṅgalastotra*[92] are different versions of the *Bālagopālastuti*. Nothing can be said about the authenticity of the *Bālakṛṣṇakrīḍākāvya* noticed by Buhler, and the *Govindastotra* and the *Kṛṣṇāhnikakaumudī* noticed by R. L. Mitra, though all these are attributed to Bilvamaṅgala.[93] The *Bālakṛṣṇastotra* mentioned by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer[94] also seems to be a similar work. That independent Stotra works were made in later times and attributed to Bilvamaṅgala is also certain.

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[84] R. 4208a. cf. 'दुर्गाप्रसादसुयतिः प्रियान्तनारायणश्च नाम्नायम्'

[85] For details see K. Kunjunni Raja, "Durgāprasādayati", MW. (30-9-1956).

[86] *ALB,* VIII, pp. 43-5.

[87] Discovered by O. C. Gangoly and described by Norman Brown. See Dr. De, Addenda to the KK. Norman Brown has given a detailed account of it with fascimile reproductions of twenty selected folios in *Eastern Art,* II, pp. 167-206.

[88] Described by Eggeling. See Introduction to KK, pp. xxi-xxiv.

[89] Bendall, British Museum Catalogue, No. 241; also Dr. De, *op. cit.,* p. xxiii. The *Kṛṣṇastotra, Bilvamaṅgalastotra* and the *Bilvamaṅgalakāvya* are different versions of the same work.

[90] Dr. De, *loc. cit.*

[91] Bhandarkar Institute.

[92] Described by R. L. Mitra. Now in Bikaner Library.

[93] Dr. De, *op. cit.,* p. xix f.

Two poems, *Vṛndāvanastuti* and *Kālavadha*, ascribed to Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka, have been published by M. Ramakrishna Kavi; the first, in sixty verses, gives a description of Vṛndāvana, while the other describes in three cantos containing 119 verses in all, the rescue of Mārkaṇḍeya from Yama by Śiva.[95] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer published a *Durgāstuti* and *Bhāvanāmukura* as Bilvamaṅgala's poems;[96] the former is in praise of the Goddess of the temple at Āriyannūr in Kerala, while the latter gives a description of Śrī Kṛṣṇa from feet to head. M. Krishnamachariar quotes[97] from a *Bālakṛṣṇastotra* also ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala. *Abhinavakaustubhamālā* or *Stotraratnasahodara* praise the Deity of the temple at Śukapura, and *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra* in 46 verses describe God Viṣṇu.[98] Many other Stotras like *Gaṇapatistuti, Kārkoṭakastuti, Abhayastuti, Rāmacandrastuti, Viśvādhikastuti, Kṛṣṇastuti* and *Kṛṣṇabālakrīḍā* ~~are~~ also attributed to Vilvamaṅgala.[99] Probably many of these are later works, wrongly ascribed to the author of the KK. In the case of the *Keralācāradīpikā* ascribed to him, there is positive evidence to show that it is a very late work, for it contains reference to Rāṇi Gaurī Lakṣmībhāi, the Queen of Travancore who ruled from 1810 to 1815 A.D.[100]

The scholar *Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka,* author of the *Puruṣakāra* and the *Siricindhakavva* has written a commentary on the *Kenopaniṣad,* called *Śaṅkarahṛdayaṅgamā.*[101] There are two *Bhāṣyas* on the Upaniṣad, both ascribed to Śaṅkara; Līlāśuka tries to effect a reconciliation between the two, and show what was really intended by the Bhāṣyakāra; at times he gives original interpretations also.

According to M. Ramakrishna Kavi, this grammarian is the author of three other works: a commentary called *Kṛṣṇalīlāvinoda* on Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, the *Subantasāmrājya* and the *Tiṅantasāmrājya*.[102] *Kramadīpikā*, a work on Āgamas, is also supposed to be by Bilvamaṅgala.[103]

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[94] *POC.*, Trivandrum, pp. 484-7.

[95] Addenda to the KK, p. 378. Published by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, in *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara,* I, pp. 225-30, 307-12, 393-8.

[96] *POC,* Trivandrum, pp. 481-3, 488-91.

[97] *HCSL,* p. 334.

[98] *TSS,* No. 2.

[99] *HCSL,* p. 336.

[100] *POC.*, Trivandrum, p. 471 f.

[101] Edited by S. Subrahmanya Sastri, *Annals of Oriental Research,* Madras University, 1952.

(v) *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*

The *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* "is a remarkable collection of erotico-mystic lyrics of considerable devotional fervour on the romantic theme of Kṛṣṇa. .. Although made up of detached stanzas, the ardent longing of the poet devotee for a vision of his Deity, the wistfulness and pathos of his devotional hope and faith and the ardent burst of joy and amazement in the fulfilment of his desire supply an inner unity which weaves them into a perfect unity. ... In spite of simplicity and directness the poem possesses all the distinctive features of a deliberate piece of art. Its undoubted verbal melody and highly sensuous pictorial effect, authenticated by a deep sincerity of ecstatic emotion, make it a finished product of great lyric beauty."[104]

"Līlāśuka is a great master of prosody and rhetoric;"[105] even in the first canto we find as many as 28 different metres. He variegates this by introducing rhymes in the earlier syllables of the lines, a typical South Indian device. Figures of speech also come to him without any effort.

There are several commentaries on the KK:

1. *Suvarṇacaṣaka*[106] by Pāpayallayasūri, son of Tirumalai and Kandamāmbā, probably belonging to the Andhra country. He is later than Mallinātha.
2. *Kṛṣṇavallabhā*[107] by Gopālabhaṭṭa, an immediate disciple of Caitanya.

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[102] *HCSL*, p. 335 f, 85; *KSC*, I, p. 160.

[103] *HCSL*, p. 336. Ms. is in Naṭuvil Maṭham, Trichur.

[104] Dr. S. K. De, Introduction to the KK, p. xxv f.

[105] Amarnath Ray, *IHQ*, XV, p. 149.

[106] Published from Srirangam.

[107] For details about these three commentators, Gopālabhaṭṭa, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and Caitanyadāsa, see Dr. De, Introduction to the KK, pp. xxx-lxiii. Gopālabhaṭṭa was the son of Harisvāmibhaṭṭa of Draviḍa country; he has also written *Rasikarañjinī*, a commentary on the *Rasamañjarī* of Bhānudatta. Caitanyadāsa was a Bengali, and almost a contemporary of Gopālabhaṭṭa; he seems to be the author of the *Bālabodhinī* commentary on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja is the author of the Bengali

3. *Sāraṅgaraṅgadā*[107] by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja of Bengal.
4. *Subodhinī*[107] by Caitanyadāsa, composed in the 16th century in Bengal.
5. *Suvarṇapātrī*[108] of Brahmadatta, an Andhra according to M. Krishnamachariar, and a Malayali according to K. Rama Pisharoti. In one of the manuscripts of the work, it is called *Suvarṇacaṣaka.*
6. *Prapā*[109] by Śaṅkara. The commentary on the second stanza ascribes the work to Śaṅkara, but the colophon at the end of the second *Śataka* states that the commentary was composed by Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita at the instance of Śaṅkara.
7. *Śravaṇāhlādinī* of Gopālabhaṭṭa who is different from the author of the *Kṛṣṇavallabhā.*[110]
8. *Bhagavadbhaktirasāyana* of Āvanchi Rāmacandra,[111] son of Koṇḍo Paṇḍita and Gaṅgāmbikā, who belonged to the Śāṇḍilya gotra, and was a native of Kanjalūru village on the Godavari branch of the Ātreyi. Krishnamachariar says[112] that Rāmacandra wrote commentaries on *Bhāratacampū* and *Bhojacampū,* and that he died about 1900 A.D.[113]

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work *Caitanyacaritāmṛta;* in Sanskrit, besides the *Sāraṅgaraṅgadā,* he has written the *Govindalīlāmṛta,* a poem in 23 cantos containing 2511 verses. He was the son of Bhagīratha and Sunanda, and belonged to c. 1600 A.D.

[108] *HCSL,* p. 337; Introduction to the KK, p. 371; R. 1462.

[109] *Cat. BORI, Kāvya,* No. 59.

[110] *Cat. BORI, Kāvya,* No. 59.

[111] R. 3040, R. 3090.

[112] *HCSL,* p. 337.

[113] In the description of the *Bhagavadbhaktirasāyana* manuscript in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Catalogue, it is said that Rāmacandra was also called Mohanavilvamaṅgala; this is based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in the beginning of the commentary where he refers to the story of the romance between Bilvamaṅgala and a courtezan.

The verse is:

सोऽहं, मोहनविल्वमंगलकविर्वेश्यानुरक्तस्तया-
वज्ञातोऽननुरूपकार्यवशतो निर्विद्य वैराग्यभाक् ।
चक्रे सोमगिरिश्शुकाह्वयमुनिः श्रीकृष्णकर्णामृत-
स्तोत्रं, भक्तिरसायनाख्यमिह तद्व्याख्यानमाख्यापये ।

Evidently the term *Mohanavilvamaṅgala* does not refer to the commentator, but only to the author of the KK.

9. *Karṇānandaprakāśinī* of unknown authorship.[114]

10. Another anonymous commentary[115] begins with the verse:

    प्रणम्य विठ्ठलाधीशं पुरुषोत्तममीश्वरम् ।
    लीलाशुकोक्तितात्पर्यं विवृणोमि यथामति ॥

11. Another anonymous commentary is found in the Bhandarkar Institute.[116]

The commentary by Vṛndāvanadāsa, noticed by Rajendralal Mitra, No. 2955, is only the *Sāraṅgaraṅgadā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja.

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[114] *Cat. BORI, Kāvya*, No. 62.
[115] R. 9899.
[116] *Cat. BORI Kāvya*, No. 64.

CHAPTER III

THE KOLATTIRI ROYAL FAMILY

The contribution of North Kerala to Sanskrit literature is considerable both in volume and in quality. The history of this part of the country known in ancient times as the Mūṣaka kingdom is narrated from legendary beginning in a Sanskrit poem called *Mūṣakavaṁśa;*[1] this gives the history of the land till about the twelfth century A.D. Later, this kingdom came to be known as Kolattunāḍ and the kings as Kolattiris. After the twelfth century the history of the land for about two centuries is completely shrouded in obscurity; then it is only by the beginning of the fifteenth century that we find clear references to the Kola country in literature. But by that time the ancient history of the Mūsaka kingdom had been completely forgotten. In the Malayalam work *Keralotpatti*[2] written during the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D. the Mūṣaka country was even identified wrongly with the extreme south of Kerala, with that part of the west coast which lies to the south of Quilon and to the north of Cape Comorin. Scholars like Monier Williams,[3] Nagamayya[4] and K. P. Padmanabha Menon[5] accepted this wrong identification, and it was only after the discovery of the *Mūṣakavaṁśa* that scholars like K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar[6] could prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the ancient *Mūṣaka* country is identical with the later Kolattunāḍ. A study of the *Mūṣakavaṁśa* leaves no doubt about the problem; many of the places mentioned in the poem as existing in the Mūṣaka kingdom, such as Cellūr, Tṛccemmaram, Pallikkunnu, etc., are found even now in that part of the country.

(i) *The Mūṣakavaṃśa*

The *Mūṣakavaṃśa* is a historical Mahākāvya by Atula, a court poet of the Mūṣaka king Śrīkaṇṭha *alias* Rājadharma. Only the first fifteen cantos of the book are available; portions from the last three cantos of the poem were published by T. A. Gopinātha Rao in the Travancore Archaeological Series.[7] The earlier cantos contain much legendary matter pertaining to the traditional origin of the Mūṣaka royal family; the latter portions are of greater historical importance.

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[1] *TP.*, 1865, 1866.
[2] Published from Mangalore in 1843.
[3] *A Sanskrit English Dictionary.*
[4] *Travancore State Manuals*, I, pp. 223, 232.
[5] *History of Kerala*, I, p. 2, 35.
[6] *JRAS*, 1922, pp. 161-75.

When Paraśurāma was slaughtering the Kṣattriyas, a pregnant queen whose husband was killed escaped from her kingdom to the mountain Eli, being escorted by a priest, and hid herself in a cave there. One day a rat as big as an elephant entered the cave and threatened to devour the queen, but was burned to ashes by the queen's anger. Then the rat appeared before her as Parvatarāja, the king of the mountain, and said that he was now saved from the curse of sage Kuśika which had brought him to his previous plight. The queen continued to live in the cave, and brought forth a male child, who was then properly educated by the priest. The first canto ends here. The next canto describes how Paraśurāma who was performing some sacrifice wanted the help of a Kṣattriya to act at a particular ritual. Through the intervention of the Parvatarāja he got the help of the prince who was living in the cave. Being born in a cave of the Mūṣaka mountain, and being consecrated with a potful of water by Paraśurāma, the prince came to be known as Mūṣaka Rāmaghaṭa.

The third canto deals mainly with the description of the mountain. The fourth canto describes the king's preparation for a *digvijaya.* The kingdom of the Haihaya which belonged to his ancestors had been taken by Mādhavavarman, king of Magadha; Rāmaghaṭa wants to restore that. The next two cantos are devoted to his conquest of Haihaya. Mādhavavarman was killed in the battle, and the capital Māhiṣmatī was captured. Rāmaghaṭa married Mādhavavarman's daughter Bhadrasenā, stayed there for some years, and had two sons in her. Installing his eldest son as the king of Haihaya, Rāmaghaṭa returned to the Mūṣaka kingdom with his younger son Nandana. Putting him on the throne, Rāmaghaṭa retired to the forest. Nandana was a pleasure-seeking king; cantos VI to X describe the king's enjoyment of life. Then follow a long line of kings and their exploits, ending with Śrīkaṇṭha, in whose court the poet Atula lived.

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[7] *TAS.*, II, pp. 87-105. For details on the poem, see Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *SPT.*, V, pp. 383-405; A Govinda Variyar, *Studies in Mūṣakavaṃśa*, *BVRI*, VII, pp. 117-39; VIII, pp. 9-36.

In the sixth generation after Nandana, Ugrāśva ruled the country; the king of Kerala invaded his country, but was defeated. Śatasoma, son of Ugrāśva, who succeeded him performed several sacrifices, and founded the Śiva temple at Cellūr (Perincellūr).[8] King Vaṭukarāma who belonged to the twenty-third generation of Śatasoma founded the temple of Vaṭukeśvara at a place called Alaśuddhi. His son, Ahīraṇa, founded a Śiva temple on the western bank of the Prathanā river. Acala, founder of the Acalapaṭṭaṇa near Elimala, belonged to the third generation of Ahīraṇa. His grandfather was Vinayavarman who became a Buddhist and founded a Buddhavihāra. After his death his grandson, Jayamāni, became the king. His son was Raṇamāni, whose grandson Udayāditya had a son named Virocaṇa. The Pallavas attacked the country during the reign of Virocana, but they were defeated and their king killed. Virocana married Hāriṇī, daughter of the Pallava king. After the lapse of twentyeight generations more, Īśānavarman became the king of the Mūṣaka country. His son was Kuññivarman, whose daughter was married to the king of Kerala[9] named Jayarāga *alias* Raghupati. Kuññivarman was succeeded by his son Īśānavarman. The eleventh canto ends here.

Īśānavarman married a Cedi princess named Nandinī, and reinstated his father-in-law, who had been ousted from his country, on the Cedi throne. On his way back to Kolattunāḍ he heard that his brother-in-law, Jayarāga, the king of Kerala, was coming to invade the Mūṣaka country. There was a battle on the banks of the Paruṣṇī river, in which the two rulers engaged themselves in a single combat. Godavarman, son of Jayarāga, intervened and persuaded them to come to terms. The king of Kerala stayed with his brother-in-law for a few days, and then returned to his own capital. A few years after this Īśānavarman who was childless married the daughter of the Cola king, and had a son named Nṛparāma Afterwards Nandinī too had a son, who was named Pālaka; he went to the Cedi kingdom and stayed with his grandfather. After the death of Īśānavarman his eldest son, Nṛparāma became the king. He died very soon and was succeeded by his son Candravarman. He too did not live long; at his death Pālaka was brought from the Cedi country, and made the king of Mūṣaka. He ruled the country peacefully for some years, and was succeeded, after his death, by his nephew Validhara, from whose time the succession to the throne becomes according to the matriarchal system. Validhara defeated the Gaṅgas who came to invade the country. He was succeeded by his nephew Nṛparāma and then by another nephew, Vikramarāma. The latter protected the temple of Buddha at Śrīmūlavāsa from the erosions of the sea. He was followed by Jayamāni and Śaṅkhavarmam. The next king was also one Janamāni, in whose reign there was complete harmony between the peoples of different religions. Valabha was the next king; he drove away the chief of Bhaṭasthali, and annexed the province to his kingdom. He was succeeded by his brother Kundavarman, who built a town named Nārāyaṇapuram. His nephew, Pālaka II, followed him; but died shortly after his accession to the throne, and was succeeded by Nṛparāma II. He was followed by Gambhīra, and his brother Jayamāni III. The latter had two nephews, Valabha II, and Śrīkaṇṭha. The twelfth canto of the poem ends here.

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[8] The story of King Śatasoma founding the Śiva temple at Cellūr is corroborated by the poet Nīlakaṇṭha in the seventeenth century in his Malayalam Campū work called *Cellūranāthodayam*. (Cf. *KSC*, II, pp. 435f).

[9] By *Kerala* is here meant the country which had Mahodayapuram as its capital. When the Cochin royal family had its capital there, the kings were known as Emperors of Kerala.

The next two cantos are devoted to describe the exploits of this king Valabha II. Even as a Yuvarāja he went to Cellūr, and worshipped God Śiva of the temple there, which was founded by his ancestor Śatasoma, and also God Viṣṇu at Tṛccemmaram temple. There were two Brahmin scholars named Bhava and Nandin at Cellūr.[10] On hearing that the Colas were invading the Keralas, King Jayamāni directed Valabha to join the Kerala army by forced marches with a contingent from the Mūṣaka country. Before he could join the Kerala forces, Valabha heard that his father Jayamāni had died, and that one Vikramarāma had usurped the throne. Sending a messenger to the king of Kerala to inform him about the circumstances, Valabha returned to his kingdom. On his way he worshipped the flourishing Vihāra of Śrīmūlavāsa. He reached the Mūṣaka country, and besieged Vikramarāma at Pallikkunnu (Vihāradurga). The usurper escaped at night, but his followers were punished. Valabha then became the king of the Mūṣaka country. He founded the port at Mārāhi at the mouth of the Killa river, and thus encouraged sea-borne trade. He also built a fort at Valabhapaṭṭaṇa, and protected it by towers and moats. He captured several

[10] "यत्र द्विजन्मतिलकौ भवनन्दिसंज्ञौ ......"

islands and annexed them to his country. Having ruled the country for a long time, he died at an advanced age. Then his younger brother Śrīkaṇṭha succeeded him. The fifteenth canto begins with a description of the peaceful and prosperous reign of Śrīkaṇṭha. The extant manuscript of the poem breaks off in the middle of the fifteenth canto; but it is almost certain that the poem contained only fifteen cantos, for the story has already come to an end. The poet Atula lived in the court of this king, Śrīkaṇṭha.

It is very difficult to identify any of the kings mentioned in the poem accurately. The Cola invasion of Kerala described in the fourteenth canto of the poem has been identified with the different invasions known to history by different scholars. Gopinatha Rao[11] identified the Cola invader with Rājendra Cola (1014-1046 A.D.); Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer[12] once suggested that the reference might be to the invasion of Rājāraja I (975-1014 A.D.). Mr. A. Govinda Variyar[13] examined the problem in detail and came to the conclusion that the invasion referred to in the poem must be some invasion later than that of Rājāraja I. According to him[14] the reference is to the expedition of Kulottuṅga I (1070-1118 A.D.). If this view is accepted the poem will have to be assigned to the twelfth century A.D.

The Buddhist Vihāra at Śrīmūlavāsa described in the *Mūṣakavaṃśa* is very old and famous.[15] The late Gopinatha Rao[16] located it somewhere near Varkkala in central Travancore, mainly on the ground that some Buddhistic vestiges were discovered from the neighbourhood. But the fact that king Vikramarāma of the Mūṣaka country protected the Vihāra from the encroachments of the sea, as if it was within his country,[17] shows that the place must be somewhere in the Mūṣaka country which, as we have already seen, is not South Travancore, but North Kerala. That Valabha II worshipped in the Vihāra on his way from Kerala to the north to Vihāradurga (Pallikkunnu)[18] shows that it was situated in Malabar, probably between Cranganore and Pallikkunnu.

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[11] *TAS*, II, pp. 116f.
[12] *SPT*, V, pp. 402-5.
[13] *BRVI*, VIII, pp. 23-7.
[14] *loc. cit.*
[15] A. Foucher, *L'iconographie Boudhique*, I, p. 105; Plate 4, No. 5.
[16] *Buddha and Jaina Vestiges in Travancore*, *TAS*, II. Pāliyam inscription of Varaguṇa also refers to Śrīmūlavāsa and the Buddhist Vihāra there; this Varaguṇa is sometimes identified with King Varaguṇa of the Ai royal family in South Kerala. (P. C. Alexander, *Buddhism in Kerala;* Ilankulam Kunhan Pilla, *Cila Keralacaritrapraśnaṅṅal*, III). But the identification is not certain; even otherwise, there is nothing against a king from the south giving grants to a Vihāra in the north.

The *Mūṣakavaṃśa* is the most important historical Mahākāvya of Kerala; it is equally important also from the literary point of view. About the author, whose name is given in the colophon of the manuscript as Atula, we know nothing. 'Atula' could be the Sanskritized name of 'Tolan'; but the author of this poem cannot be identified with the Tolan, famous in tradition as the friend and advisor of the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara. Atula was a great poet and could write verses of exquisite beauty. A few examples may be given below to illustrate the general style of the poet:

"स शालिगोपीजनगीयमानं विशालमाकर्ण्य यशः स्वकीयम् ।
लज्जानतास्यो रमणीजनस्य निश्शङ्कदृश्यो नृपतिर्वभूव ॥"
"क्षत्रियस्य जननाद् भवति स्वं क्षोणिरेव चतुरन्तरसीमा ।
पालने तु नियमो बलतन्त्रः पूर्वभोगकथयात्र कृतं किम् ॥"
"परासुतामुपयति तत्र भूपतौ
अशिश्रियुर्धरणिभृतोऽथ मूषकम् ।
वनस्पतौ परिपतति स्वसंश्रये
पुनर्द्रुमं परमिव पत्रवाहनाः ॥"
"तनयोऽमुष्य विख्यातविनयोऽथ वलाहकः ।
स्वनयोपात्तयोः पात्रं अनयोः श्रीभुवोरभूत् ॥"

There must have been some cataclysmic changes in the Mūṣaka country not long after the time of Atula, which destroyed completely the entire kingdom; even the traditional history of the land was forgotten. About the sixteenth century the Mūṣaka country itself was supposed to be in the extreme south of Kerala. The rise of the Zamorins of Kozhikode must be the result of the destruction of the Mūṣaka power. There grew up in the north the royal family of Kolattiris. According to the story narrated in the *Udayavarmacarita*[19] of King Ravivarman of the Kola country in the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., the founder of the Kolattiri family was King Keralavarman, son of the legendary Ceraman Perumāl.

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[17] Canto XII, Verse 16:

प्रथितमिह जिनस्य श्रीनिकेतं कदाचि-
न्मुषितजनविपत्तेरालयं मूलवासम् ।
पृथुचटुलतरङ्गक्षुब्धवेलातटान्तः
कबलयितुमुदन्वानुद्धतं व्याजजृम्भे ॥

[18] Canto XIV, Verse 25:

उपसृत्य नित्यसुसमृद्धविभवगुरुधर्मपारगम् ।
तत्र सुगतमतिकारुणिकं शुचिमूलवासजुषमभ्यवन्दत ॥

Rāghavānanda, author of the *Kṛṣṇapadī* commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Tātparyadīpikā* on the *Mukundamālā* etc.,[20] says that his commentary on the Purāṇa was composed when King Rāghava of universal fame was ruling over the Kola country. If he could be identified with the legendary Kokkunnattu Svāmiyār whose date is given as 1310 A.D., or if this King Rāghava could be taken to be the same as the patron of Divākara who wrote the *Amoghārāghava Campū* in 1299 A.D., then Rāghavānanda must have been patronized by King Rāghava of Kolattunāḍ in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

(ii) *Keralavarman*

Then in the beginning of the fifteenth century a royal prince of the Kola country named Rāmavarman gives us some details about the family during his time. Rāmavarman is the author of *Bhāratasaṅgraha* and *Candrikākalāpīḍa*. In the introductory portion of the *Bhāratasaṅgraha*[21] he gives the following information. In the royal family having Elimala as its capital there was a queen named Mahāprabhā. Her son Ravivarman was the king for a long time, and after his death his younger brother Keralavarman ascended the throne. It was at the instance of this Keralavarman that the poem was written.[22] Many of the details given here are corroborated by what Rāmavarman himself says in his drama, *Candrikākalāpīḍa*,[23] also written at the instance of King Keralavarman. Prince Rāmavarman, author of these works, was a nephew of Keralavarman. From the records available at Chirakkal Palace it is known that this prince Rāmavarman died in 1443 A.D., Keralavarman became the king of Kolattunāḍ in 1423 A.D., and ruled over the country till his death in 1446 A.D.[24] So the prince must have composed his works between 1423 and 1443 A.D.

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[19] *TSS*, 22; *KSSC*, I, p. 423; *KSC*, II, p. 82.

[20] See under *Mukundamālā* for further details about Rāghavānanda.

[21] R. 4483.

[22] See T. Balakrishnan Nair, *Bhāratasaṅgraha*, MW, dated 5-2-1934; *KSSC*, I, pp. 419ff.; *KSC*, I, pp. 1ff. The verses are:

येषां नगर्येलिगिरावुदारा विभाति मेरावमरावतीव ।
तेषां नृपाणां भवति स्म वंशे महाप्रभा श्रीरिव दुग्धसिन्धौ ॥
संप्राप्तराज्यं रविवर्मसंज्ञं दातारमस्यास्तनयं समेत्य ।
उदारकल्याणधरालयस्थाः प्रजा विपक्षार्थिगणा ननन्दुः ॥

The *Bhāratasaṅgraha* is a poem dealing with the story of the *Mahābhārata*. The extant manuscript of the poem[25] breaks off in the middle of the twentyfifth canto. The style of the poem is very simple, but not very fluent. The *Candrikākalāpīḍa* is a drama in five acts describing the story of the love between Candrikā, daughter of the king of Kaliṅga, and Kandarpaśekhara, king of Kāśi, culminating in their marriage. The play is supposed to be staged during the Caitra festival of the Deity Nīlakaṇṭha of the temple at Perincellūr.[26] It is a fairly good drama, though it does not contain much originality. The story is almost an imitation of that in *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The language is simple, as in:

अन्योन्यभावशून्यं दाम्पत्यं किं न यातना महती ।
यूनोरपारसुखदः परस्परप्रेमबोधमात्रोऽपि ॥

King Keralavarman of Kolattunāḍ was a very great patron of letters. Besides his nephew Rāmavarman, he had in his court great scholars and poets like Rāghava and his disciple Śaṅkara. Rāghava was the preceptor of Śaṅkara, and wrote the *Padārthacintana* commentary on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*.[27] From the Mala-

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............विनिधाय भूमिं निजानुजे स त्रिदिवं प्रपेदे ।
गुणाकरः केरलवर्मनामा स तेन दत्तं प्रतिपद्य राज्यम् ।
जगन्निवासं हृदये दधानो मुदा कदाचिन्निजभागिनेयम् ।
स रामवर्माणमुवाच काव्यं विधीयतां भारतसङ्ग्रहाख्यम् ॥

[23] R. 2764. See the following passage in the prologue:

महाराजस्य रविवर्मणः कनीयसो मूर्तस्येव कोलभूभागधेयस्य श्रीकेरलवर्मणः सहोदरीसंजातेन रामवर्माभिधेयेन विरचितं शृङ्गाररसभूयिष्ठं चन्द्रिकाकलापीडं नाम नाटकम् ॥

[24] T. Balakrishnan Nair, *loc. cit.*

[25] R 4483.

[26] R. 2764. See the Prologue:

आदिष्टोऽस्मि............चेल्लूरपुरवासिनो निगमवननीलकण्ठस्य चैत्रयात्रोत्सवसमागतैः........

[27] R. 5119. For details see under *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*.

yalam work *Candrotsavam* we learn that, like Śaṅkara, Rāghava was also a great poet. Śaṅkara is the well known author of the popular Mahākāvya *Kṛṣṇavijaya*[28] which in twelve cantos describes the story of Kṛṣṇa in an easy, lucid and flowing style. Śaṅkara gives some information about himself in the introductory portion of the poem.[29] He says that he is the disciple of Rāghava, that both he and his teacher belonged to Pallikkunnu[30] and were in the court of King Keralavarman, and that the poem was written at the instance of the king. It is believed that both belonged to the Vāriyar community.[31] Tradition connects Śaṅkara with Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, Punam and others. In the *Kokilasandeśa* Uddaṇḍa Śastri praises Śaṅkara's poetic talents.[32] Rāghava, Śaṅkara and Punam are mentioned as great poets in the Malayalam Kāvya, *Candrotsavam*.[33] There is also a story which makes Punam an intimate friend of Śaṅkara. It is said that Punam had a girl friend whose *non-de-plume* was Māralekhā, and that Śaṅkara's sweetheart was Mānavīmenakā; there is a Malayalam verse said to have been written to Śaṅkara by Punam complaining about Māralekhā's indifference towards him; and there is another verse where Śaṅkara admonishes Māralekhā for her indifference towards Punam.[34] Māralekhā and Mānavīmenakā appear in the *Candrotsavam* also. The authors of the Sanskrit poem *Kṛṣṇābhyudaya* and the Malayalam work *Candrotsavam* praise Śaṅkara in the beginning of their works.[35] About the literary merit of the poem Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer says,[36] "There is no work in the whole of Sanskrit literature which excels *Kṛṣṇavijaya* in sweetness and lucidity". As an illustration of his style may be given the following verse:

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[28] Edited by P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, The Mangalodayam Ltd., Trichur, 1914.

[29] Canto I, Verses 6-19.

[30] It is in modern Chirakkal Taluk.

[31] *KSC*, II, p. 8; he was considered to have been a member of the Mārār community by some scholars once (*HCSL*, p. 254; Introduction to *Kṛṣṇavijaya*, p. ii; *KSSC*, I, 424; *QJMS*, XIX, p. 223; *Bhāṣāpoṣiṇi*, XVII, pp. 326f.).

[32] Part I, verse 60:

कोलानेलावनसुरभिलान् याहि यत्र प्रथन्ते
वेलातीतप्रथितयशसः शङ्कराद्याः कवीन्द्राः ।

[33] Edited by K. K. Raja, V. Sundra Iyer & Sons, Trichur:

श्रीशङ्करेण विदुषा कविसार्वभौमे-
स्वच्छन्दमन्दगतिना पुरतो गतेन ।
श्रीमन्मुकुन्दमुरलीमधुरस्वरेण
पद्यैरवद्यरहितैरनुवर्ण्यमाना ॥

[34] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Bhāṣācampukkal*, pp. 61ff.

उपवनभवनान्ते रिङ्खणं व्यादधानाः
परिपतितपरागैर्धूसराः केसराणाम् ।
क्वणितमधुकरालीकिङ्किणीका विचेरु-
र्विगलितमधुलालापाथसो वीतपोताः ॥

A. Govinda Variyar identifies[37] Śaṅkara with the commentator of *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* and with the author of *Saṅgraharāmāyaṇa;* but there is no evidence in support of that.

The *Kṛṣṇābhudaya*[38] is a poem written about the life of Kṛṣṇa in an elegant and lucid style. The author's name is not known. He says that he is a disciple of Śaṅkara. The available manuscript of the work breaks off in the fifth canto.

Among the other works coming from the royal court of Kolattunāḍ may be mentioned the *Udayavarmacarita*[39] by prince Ravivarman. The poem is written in the Purāṇic style giving a biographical account of Udayavarman, a former king of Kolattunāḍ. It is not of much historical importance, and is based on legends. It contains eleven cantos. The date of composition of the work is given as 1500 A.D.; but the Kali chronogram "*He Viṣṇo nihitam kṛtsnam*" is taken from *Tantrasaṅgraha* of Kelallūr Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji.[40]

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35. See the *Kṛṣṇābhyudaya* verse, quoted in *KSSC*, I, p. 435:

स्वयं विनिर्यन्नवपद्यवन्धश्रमाम्बु यस्याननपद्मलग्नम् ।
ममार्ज वाणी करपल्लवेन स शंकराख्यो मम शं करोतु ।

And the *Candrotsava* verse:

उच्चितरसविचारे चारुवाग्देवताश्री-
करकिसलयसंमृष्टश्रमस्वेदजालम् ।
अहमहमिकया वन्नर्थशब्दप्रवाहं
भवतु वदनबिम्बं प्रीतये शांकर नः ॥

36. *KSC*, II, p. 10.
37. *Glimpses of the History of Art in Kerala, QJMS*, XIX, p. 223.
38. *KSSC*, I, pp. 435ff.; *KSC*, II, pp. 12f.
39. *TSS*, 133; *KSSC*, I, p. 423; *KSC*, II, pp. 82f.
40. Hence Ravivarman's date must be later than 1500 A.D.

Kṛṣṇa, or Kṛṣṇācārya, author of the poem *Bharatacarita*,[41] seems to have been influenced very much by the *Kṛṣṇavijaya* of Śaṅkara. The poem narrates in twelve cantos the well known story of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā and their son Bharata, "in a style modelled to a great extent upon that of Kālidāsa."[42] We find similar ideas in *Kṛṣṇavijaya, Bharatacarita* and the Malayalam poem *Candrotsava*.[43] Vaṭakkunkūr Rajarajavarma Raja suggests that Kṛṣṇa might be a younger contemporary of Śaṅkara.[44]

We know about one Kṛṣṇasūdhi, a scholar from Kāñci, who was patronized by a king Ravivarman of Kolattunāḍ. He wrote a work on poetics called *Kāvyakalānidhi*,[45] where the illustrations are all in praise of King Ravivarman. We do not know whether this king is identical with the author of *Udayavarmacarita*. Kṛṣṇasudhi was the son of Śivarāma, and the grandson of Upadeṣṭṛpaṇḍita Nārāyaṇa, and was a native of Uttaramerūr on the banks of the Ceyyār near Kāñci. M. Krishnamachariar wrongly identifies[46] his patron with king Ravivarma of Travancore.

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[41] *TSS*, 86.

[42] L. D. Barnett, *JRAS*, 1927, p. 347.

[43] (a)

सलिलनिधिसमागमानुविद्धं नवमिव मौक्तिकमम्बु ताम्रपर्णी ।
(*Bharatacarita*)

उत्तालशुक्तिपुटके भुवनैकसारमुक्तामयान् जलकणानिव ताम्रपर्णी ॥
(*Candrotsavam*)

(b)

तप्तमायसमिवार्कमण्डलं वासरेण शुचिना चिरं धृतम् ।
क्षिप्तमम्भसि पयोनिधेरभूत् तस्य धूम इव मेदुरं तमः ॥
(*Bharatacarita*)

सन्ध्यानले तपनमण्डलंहेमपिण्डं
सन्तापयन्नथ दिनान्तसुवर्णकारः ।
ऊर्ध्वांशुविस्फुरदुदङ्कगृहीतमब्धौ
चिक्षेप तावदुदगामि तमिस्रधूमैः ॥
(*Kṛṣṇvijaya*)

[44] *KSSC*, I, p. 438.

[45] R, 2918.

[46] *HCSL*, p. 805.

CHAPTER IV

MĀNAVIKRAMA OF KOZHIKODE

One of the most important centres of Sanskrit studies in Kerala during the middle ages was the court of the Zamorins of Kozhikode.[1] There were many scholars and poets in that royal family who contributed substantially to Sanskrit literature; the number of scholars patronized by them is also very great. Among these Zamorins of Kozhikode, Mānavikrama Śaktan Tampurān, is the earliest and the most outstanding. He was the brightest luminary in the firmament of the history of Kozhikode prior to the advent of the Portugese, and one of the greatest patrons of literature that Kerala has ever produced.

The history of the period in which Mānavikrama flourished is completely shrouded in obscurity, and the few glimpses that we get about that golden age are through popular traditions, notices of foreign travellers and the extant literary works of that time. Even the exact date of Mānavikrama has to be inferred from such indirect sources.

(i) *Patineṭṭara Kavikal*

According to popular traditions[2] there were nineteen poets famous as the *Patineṭṭara Kavikal*, or "the eighteen and a half poets", in the court of Mānavikrama, the Great. Of these Punam Nambūtiri was called the 'Half Poet', because he was only a Malayalam poet, and not a recognized Sanskrit scholar. Among the others nine were members of the Payyūr Bhāṭṭa family, including Ṛṣi and his son Parameśvara; there were five Nambūtiris from the village of Tiruvegappura; and the rest were Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri of Cennās, and Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa of Kākkaśśeri. It is on the basis of this tradition that scholars have tried to determine the date of Mānavikrama. But we do not know how far this tradition is dependable.

The story is that Uddaṇḍa Śāstri of Lāṭapura who came to Kozhikode seeking patronage took part in the annual Śāstraic discussions, won all the laurels, and lived for some time triumphantly at the court of the Zamorin. He was a little haughty and overbearing, and the Nambutiri Brahmins of Kerala who were hurt by his supercilious attitude towards them, though they appreciated his scholarship and eloquence, felt ashamed that a scholar from outside should have defeated them in the annual discussions. The Brahmins prayed to the Deity at the temple of Ilavalli near Guruvāyūr for the birth of a scholar among them who would defeat Uddaṇḍa Śāstri in his own field of dialectics. A Nambutiri lady of the Kākkaśśeri family was pregnant at that time, and the Nambutiris began to give her food consecrated by sacred *mantras.* Thus was born Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa. Even as a child he was endowed with a prodigious memory and a fertile intellect; and the special education that he received made him a great scholar in a few years. The Zamorin himself took a personal interest in the education of the child. It is said that even at the age of twelve Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa defeated Uddaṇḍa Śāstri in the discussions and thus justified the expectations of the Nambutiri Brahmins.

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[1] Also known as Calicut.

[2] Appan Tampurān, *Patineṭṭara Kavikal, Maṅgalamāla*, I; K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 298f.

Tradition connects Punam Nambūtiri with Uddaṇḍa Śāstri and Mānavikrama also. It is said that when Uddaṇḍa Śāstri came to Kerala seeking fortune, he had a prejudice against vernacular poets in general. He expressed his opinion about them in the following verse:

भाषाकविनिवहोऽयं दोषाकरवद्विभाति भुवनतले।
प्रायेण वृत्तहीनः सूर्यालोके निरस्तगोप्रसरः ॥

Punam who was considered as a "half poet" of the royal court was naturally looked down by Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, until he heard one day the following verse which Punam had composed about Mānavikrama:

Tāriltanvīkaṭākṣāñcalamadhupakulārāma rāmājanānām
Nīriltārbāṇa vairākaranikaratamomaṇḍalīcaṇḍabhāno
Nerettātoru nīyām toṭukuri kalayāykennum eṣā kuḻikkum
Nerattinnippuram Vikramanṛvara dharā hanta kalpāntatoye.

Uddaṇḍa Śāstri appreciated the poem very much, and presented a silk garment to Punam with the remark, "Anta hantaikkinta paṭṭu" (This silk garment for that word 'hanta'). The following verse in praise of Punam is also attributed to Uddaṇḍa Śāstri:

अधिकेरलमग्र्यगिरः कवयः कवयन्तु वयं तु न तान् विनुमः।
पुलकोद्गमकारिवचःप्रसरं पुनमेव पुनः पुनरास्तुमहे ॥

It is very difficult to say how far these traditional stories are dependable. Punam Nambūtiri seems to have been a contemporary of Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, for in the *Kokilasandeśa* Uddaṇḍa refers to the poet Śaṅkara of Kolattunāḍ in glowing terms:[3]

> "कोलानेलावनसुरभिलान् याहि यत्र प्रथन्ते
> वेलातीतप्रथितयशसः शङ्कराद्याः कवीन्द्राः ।"

This reference must be to the author of the *Kṛṣṇavijaya*.[4] Punam and Śaṅkara are mentioned as contemporaries in the Malayalam poem *Candrotsavam*: and in the *Mayūrasandeśa* of Udaya,[5] which has as its heroine one of the characters found in the *Candrotsava* itself Uddaṇḍa Śāstri is mentioned as a living poet. There is also a tradition making Punam an intimate friend of Śaṅkara.

Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, author of the *Kokilasandeśa* and the *Mallikāmāruta,* and Kākkaśśeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Vasumatīmānavikrama* have praised Mānavikrama of Kozhikode in their works.[6] Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa even says that from his childhood he was under the protection of the king who had taken a personal interest in his education.[7] And both Uddaṇḍa Śāstri and Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa refer to the Bhaṭṭas of Payyūr with great respect; Maharṣi and his son Parameśvara of the Payyūr family are referred to by

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[3] Part I, verse 60.

[4] See under Śaṅkara for details.

[5] Edited by C. Kunhan Raja. See the verse:

> उद्दण्डाख्यः सुरभिकवितासागरेन्दुः कवीन्द्र-
> स्तुण्डीरक्ष्मावलयतिलकस्तत्र चेतस्सन्निधत्ते ।
> श्रव्यामुष्य त्रिदशतटिनीवेगवैलक्ष्यदोग्ध्री
> वाग्धाटी सा विजितदरसंफुल्लमल्लीमधूली ॥

This does not prove that Udaya was a contemporary of Uddaṇḍa; for the poet could refer to a poet of the immediate past as a living writer.

[6] *Mallikāmāruta*, p. 13.

> आस्थानमध्यगतमुद्धतसौविदल्लभ्रूक्षेपचोदितनमच्चतुरन्तवीरम् ।
> श्रीविक्रमं चतुरवारवधूकराब्जव्याधूतचामरमलोकत लोकनाथम् ।

Prologue to *Vasumatīmānavikrama*:

अद्य खल्वहमादिष्टोऽस्मि.........श्रीमानविक्रमक्षमानायकस्य आस्थानीकृत्य परिहिण्डितेन पण्डितमण्डलेन । अस्मत्स्वामिनः श्रीमानविक्रमस्य चरितानुबन्धि दामोदरकविनिबद्धं किमपि रूपकोत्तमम् ॥

[7] "सारस्वतनिधिना साक्षादद्रिसमुद्रनायकेनैव बाल्यादेवारभ्य वैपश्चितीं वृत्तिमधिकृत्य परां काष्ठामारोपितः ।"

(See *KSC*, II, p. 21)

Uddaṇḍa;[8] Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa also pays high tribute to the greatness of Ṛṣi.[9] There have been several Parameśvaras and Ṛṣis in the Payyūr family, and it is not easy to identify the scholars mentioned by Uddaṇḍa and Kākkaśśeri with any of the known Ṛṣis and Parameśvaras.

Regarding the contemporaneity of Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri, author of the *Tantrasamuccaya,* with these scholars there is absolutely no evidence except that supplied by tradition. One story is that when Uddaṇḍa Śāstri came to Kozhikode in search of patronage, it was Nārāyaṇa of Cennās who introduced him to Mānavikrama;[10] it is also said that Uddaṇḍa is the author of a verse in the *Tantrasamuccaya.*[11] There is also a story that Cennās Nambutiri and Mullappilli Nambutiri were once punished by the Zamorin for composing some uncomplimentary verses about him:

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[8]
"किञ्चित्पूर्वा रणखलभुवि श्रीमदध्यक्षयेथा-
स्तन्मीमांसाद्वयकुलगुरोः सद्म पुण्यं महर्षेः ।"
(*Kokilasandeśa,* I, 76)

"त्रैविद्येशो महर्षिर्निरवधिमहिमा यद्धिते जागरूकः ।"
(At the end of each Act of the drama)

"कृतमेव तन्मीमांसकचक्रवर्तिना महर्षिपुत्रेण परमेश्वरेण....
सर्वोद्दण्डकविप्रकाण्ड ददसे कस्मै न विस्मेरताम् ।"
(*Prologue*)

[9]
"यस्मिन् प्रीणाति वाणीकरतलविलसद्वल्लकीलौल्यभाजां
सोता वाताशनाधीश्वरविशदशिरःकम्पसंभावितानाम् ।
वाचां मोचामधूलीपरिमलसुहृदां सर्वदा नैगमाध्व-
श्रद्धालुः केरलक्ष्माकुलतिलकमृषिः साहितीपारदृश्वा ॥"
(*Vasumatīmānavikrama,* quoted in *KSSC,* I, p. 473)

[10] The introducing verse is said to be the following:
प्रक्रीडत्कार्तवीर्यार्जुनकरविधृतोन्मुक्त सोमोद्भवाम्भः-
संभाराभोगडम्भप्रशमनपटुवाग्गुम्भगम्भीरिमश्रीः ।
तुण्डीरक्षोणिभागात्तव खलु विषयेऽहिण्डतोदण्डसूरिः
सोऽयं ते विक्रमक्ष्मावर किमु न गतः श्रोत्रियः श्रोत्रदेशम् ॥

[11] *Tantrasamuccaya, TSS,* verse 230 of Paṭala 9:
शङ्खप्रेङ्खच्चटुलपटहोत्तालतालोरुभेरीरङ्गच्छृङ्गोड्डमरडमरूद्दीप्रवीणाप्रवीणाः ।
ढक्काड्डक्काविरलमुरलीकर्मठाश्चाभियान्तु स्फायाद्दीपास्तमिह महितोद्दामहेला
महेलाः ॥

the former was asked to produce an original work on Tantra, and the latter was humiliated by the award of a purse before the beginning of the debate itself. If these stories are true, it is quite surprising that Uddaṇḍa Śāstri does not mention Cennās Nambutiri in the *Kokilasandeśa,* even though the house of Cennās was situated on the way described in the work.[12] Even in the Prologue to the *Mallikāmāruta,* where he gives a detailed description of his wanderings before he came to Kozhikode, and of his first meeting the Zamorin, there is no reference to Cennās Nambutiri at all. In the *Tantrasamuccaya* also there is no reference to Mānavikrama, or to any of the other poets of the court. *Vimarśinī,* the commentary on the *Tantrasamuccaya,*[13] written by Śaṅkara son of Nārāyaṇa, is equally silent about Mānavikrama and others.

All that we can say definitely is that Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, Kākkaśśeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa and some members of the Payyūr family including one Ṛṣi and his son Parameśvara, were contemporaries of Mānavikrama, the Zamorin of Kozhikode. We do not know anything about the literary activities of Mullappilli Nambutiri, and the five Nambutiris from the village of Tiruvegappura, who are supposed to have adorned the court of Mānavikrama. Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa refers to one Nārāyaṇa of Aśokapureśvara as his preceptor; some scholars try to identify this Nārāyaṇa as one of the Tiruvegappura Nambutiris of the tradition, and assign the scholarly poem *Subhadrāharaṇa*[14] to him. Tradition is emphatic that Payyūr Ṛṣi, contemporary of Mānavikrama, had seven brothers; even though we know six generations of scholars in that family including three Ṛṣis, it is not possible to find the seven brothers.[15] Regarding Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambutiri also there is no evidence to connect him with the Zamorin. Perhaps the number 'Eighteen and a half' of the story need not be taken seriously; it is an auspicious number in Kerala.[16] There can be no doubt that Mānavikrama of Kozhikode was a great patron of letters.

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[12] He has devoted three full stanzas (78-80) to describe the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas; hence his silence is all the more surprising.

[13] Published along with the text, *TSS.*

[14] *TC,* 217; R. 2710; R. 4323. E. V. Raman Nambutiri, Introduction to *Tantrasamuccaya* with Malayalam Commentary, Trivandrum, p. 108; S. Venkatasubramonia Iyer, *JT,* VI.

[15] For details see later.

[16] Thus there are 'Eighteen and a half' groups of militant Nambutiris called *Saṅghas;* 'Eighteen and a half' Kāli temples called *Kāvus;* etc.

(ii) *Date of Mānavikrama*

The date of Mānavikrama is generally reconstructed from the date of Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambutiri who refers to the Kali date 4529 (*nanda-nayana-iṣu-ambhodhi*), equivalent to A.D. 1427, in the concluding verse of the *Tantrasamuccaya*:[17]

कल्यब्देष्वतियत्सु नन्दनयनेष्वम्भोधिसंख्येषु यः
संभूतो भृगुहव्यवीतमुनियुङ्मूले सवेदोन्वये ।
प्राहुर्यस्य जयन्तमङ्गलपदेद्धं धाम् नारायणः
सोऽयं तन्त्रमिदं व्यधाद् बहुविधादुद्धृत्य तन्त्रार्णवात् ॥

There has been some difference of opinion among scholars as to the question whether the date refers to the date of composition of the work, or whether it gives the date of birth of the author.[18] It is possible to explain the portion कल्यब्देषु.......संख्येषु either with *vyadhāt* or with *sambhūtaḥ*. But in the *Vivaraṇa* commentary, and in another Malayalam commentary this date seems to be explained as denoting the date of birth of the author. If that is accepted, the literary period of Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambutiri will have to be assigned to the second half of the fifteenth century A.D. But since there is no clear evidence connecting him with Mānavikrama, this does not help us in fixing the date of Mānavikrama.

Another argument adduced by some scholars to fix the date of Mānavikrama is the tradition recorded by the editor of the *Ratnaketūdaya*, that its author Bālakavi was a contemporary and rival of Uddaṇḍa Sastri.[19] Bālakavi was an elder contemporary of Appaya Dīkṣita (1520-1593) whose brother's grandson Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita says in the prologue to his drama called *Nalacarita* that, while Appaya Dīkṣita was commenting on the *Vedāntakalpataru*, Bālakavi praised him thus:

अप्पदीक्षित किमित्यतिस्तुतिं वर्णयामि भवतो वदान्यताम् ।
सोऽपि कल्पतरुरर्थलिप्सया त्वद्गिरामवसरं प्रतीक्षते ॥

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[17] *Tantrasamuccaya* (*TSS*), Part II, p. 317f.

[18] K. Kunjunni Raja, *Date of Mānavikrama*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Annamalai University, 1946; *Mangalodayam*, XIX, 11-12, where the first half of fifteenth century has been suggested for *Mānavikrama*. See also E. V. Raman Nambutiri, Introduction to *Tantrasamuccaya* with Malayalam Commentary, Trivandrum, Part III; Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSG* II, pp. 63f.

[19] S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Introduction to *Sphoṭasiddhi*, Madras University. On Bālakavi see also *HCSL*, p. 656.

The tradition recorded by the editor is that Bālakavi was in the court of Mānavikrama the Great, but from Bālakavi's works we know that he was in the court of King Rāmavarman of Cochin.[20] Hence much value cannot be given to this tradition.

It has been argued that the reference to the Portuguese hat in the Malayalam work *Rāmāyaṇacampū*, generally attributed to Punam, shows that the date of Punam and consequently that of Mānavikrama, will have to be brought down towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, since the Portuguese came to Calicut only in 1498 A.D.[21] But we have to remember that there is absolutely no evidence to assign the authorship of the *Rāmāyaṇacampū* to Punam.

From a study of Mahuan's accounts of his voyages Duyvendak has stated[22] that Mānavikrama (referred to as *Ma-na-pi-chia-la-man* by Mahuan) became the king of Calicut by about 1407 A.D. This shows that there was one Mānavikrama as the Zamorin of Calicut in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. There is no evidence to identify him with the patron of Uddaṇḍa and others.

K. V. Krishna Iyer states[23] that Mānavikrama ruled over the land from 1456 to 1464 A.D. This is based on the assumption that Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambutiri who was born in 1427 A.D. was Mānavikrama's court poet, and that the average length of a Zamorin's reign, calculated on the basis of the 25 reigns covering 200 years from 1560 to 1760 A.D., is eight years. Obviously this method cannot be accepted. The popular tradition that Mānavikrama ruled over the country for a long time is corroborated by the statement of Kākkaśśeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa that Mānavikrama himself took a personal interest in the education of Kākkaśśeri even when the latter was a child.[24]

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[20] His *Rāmavarmavilāsa* (R. 3873a) has Rāmavarman of Cochin as its hero. See also *JORM*, V, p. 141.

[21] K. V. Krishna Iyer, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 302; *KBSC*, I, p. 358.

[22] *T'oung Pao*, XXXV (1939), p. 359f.

[23] *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 336.

[24] For details see later under Kākkaśśeri.

Sten Konow[25] and Keith[26] following Pischel,[27] have assigned Mānavikrama to the middle of the seventeenth century A.D., identifying him with some later Zamorin of that name.

T. Balakrishnan Nair has stated[28] on the basis of records found in the Chirakkal Palace that King Keralavarman of Kolattunāḍ, who was the patron of Śaṅkara, was the reigning monarch from 1422 to 1446 A.D. If the tradition making Śaṅkara a friend of Punam and consequently of Mānavikrama be accepted, they will have to be assigned to the first half of the fifteenth century A.D.[29]

But we know that Uddaṇḍa Śāstri refers to Payyūr Ṛṣi by the term *Traividyeśa;*[30] and Parameśvara III of Payyūr, author of the *Jaiminīyasūtrārthasaṅgraha,* says that his father Ṛṣi III had the title of *Traividyeśa.*[31] Hence it is clear that this Parameśvara and his father were the contemporaries of Mānavikrama. Therefore the date of Mānavikrama will have to be brought down to the latter half of the fifteenth century A.D., for we know that this Traividyeśa Ṛṣi's great grandfather Parameśvara I was almost a younger contemporary of Pūrṇasarasvati whom he criticizes sharply in his commentary on the *Meghadūta* and cannot be earlier than 1300 A.D.[32]

It is rather difficult to reconcile this fact with the tradition connecting Mānavikrama with Punam, and the latter with Śaṅkara. Perhaps we may take it that the reign of Mānavikrama was a very long one, covering the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century A.D. Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri who was born in 1427 could have been in his court, as the traditions state.

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[25] *Das Indische Drama,* p. 110.

[26] *Sanskrit Drama,* p. 257.

[27] *Rudraṭa, Introduction* (See Konow, *op. cit.*).

[28] Introduction to *Ceruśśeri Bhāratam.* This is accepted by scholars like Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer. It is a pity that the records are not now available for checking.

[29] I had assigned him to the early half of the fifteenth century in my paper published in the Indian History Congress Proceedings of 1946.

[30] *Vide supra.*

[31] *TSS,* 156, p. 348.

[32] For details see section on Payyūr Bhaṭṭas.

T. Balakrishnan Nair has suggested[33] that there is a record of one Ponattil Kuññi Nambiḍi being sent to the Zamorin's palace in 1454 A.D. by King Udayavarman of Kolattunāḍ, and that this Ponattil Nambiḍi might be identified with Punam, the half-poet in Mānavikrama's court. Though there is no proof for this identification, the date seems to be quite possible.

(iii) *Mānavikrama*

Mānavikrama was not only a patron of letters; he was also a good scholar. He wrote a commentary called *Vikramīya* on Murāri's *Anargharāghava*. It opens[34] with salutations to the deities at the temples of Tiruvalaṅṅāḍ (Valayālaya) and Tali (Sthali), and contains reference to the annual conference of Brahmin scholars at the Tali temple. Mānavikrama says[35] that he is the pupil of Karuṇākara, Paṅkajākṣa and Rāma. It is very difficult to identify these teachers of Mānavikrama. The Piṣāroṭis of the Ānāyattu family were the traditional teachers of the Zamorins. We know of at least three Karuṇākaras who were great scholars. There is one Karuṇākara who commented on Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇacampū*[36] at the instance of his student Mānavikrama, Zamorin of Kozhikode. He was also a Piṣāroṭi and was the pupil of Acyuta and Kṛṣṇa.[37] The author of the commentary called *Kavicintāmaṇi* on *Vṛttaratnākara*[38] is also one Karuṇākara Piṣāroṭi; he was the son of Kamalekṣaṇa and Kulapālikā, and was the teacher of the Zamorin of Kozhikode whom he calls Rājarāja.[39] Vāsudeva, also known as Sāhityamalla, who wrote a commentary called *Mārgadarśinī* on the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara

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[33] *SPT*, III, p. 166.

[34] R. 132a; 1402b; 1845. It begins thus:

वन्दे चन्द्रकलापीडं सर्वज्ञं सर्वभूतये ।
गौरीसहितवामाङ्कं ज्ञानरूपं कलानिधिम् ॥
कुक्कुटक्रोडगा लक्ष्मीरक्षीणा यत्र विद्यते ।
वलयालयवासिन्यै तस्यै देव्यै नमो नमः ॥
वेदवाक्यप्रमाणेषु प्रवीणैर्ब्राह्मणोत्तमैः ।
प्रत्यब्दं सेव्यमानं तं स्थलीश्वरमुपास्महे ॥

[35]

करुणाकरसंज्ञांस्तान् पङ्कजाक्षाख्ययान्वितान् ।
रामाभिधांश्च वन्देऽहं गुरूनेतान् महामतीन् ॥

[36] R. 3687.

श्रीकुक्कुटक्रोडपुरीमहेन्द्रः श्रीकेरलोर्वीतलपूर्णचन्द्रः ।
भूलोकपालः सुगुणैरुपेतः श्रीविक्रमो दीव्यति कीर्तिसान्द्रः ॥
सोऽयं राजशिखामणिर्निजयशःसङ्कीर्तनप्रौढता-
जिज्ञासाकुलमानसः शुभदिने स्वामात्यवर्यैः सह ।
श्रीमद्वैष्णवलोकमण्डनमणिं संमानयन् वाञ्छितैः
संपूर्णं करुणाकरं निजगुरुं किञ्चिद्वचोऽवोचत ॥

श्रीकालिदासकविशेखरवाक्सुधाब्धि-
सद्भोजराजकृतचम्पुरसायनस्य ।
आवासभूमिमधुना रसनां मदीया-
मुत्तेजयाखिलरसास्वदनानुभूत्यै ॥
इत्थं नरेन्द्रवचनामृतपानतृप्तचित्तो भवन्नहमिहादरणीयशीलः ।
श्रीभोजराजकृतचम्पुमहाप्रबन्धभावप्रबोधनकृते सुचिरं यतेय ॥

[37] "यद्वैदुषीकलितसङ्गमशास्त्रसारसंभूतसूक्तिवरभागवतान्तरात्मा ।
विद्वज्जनोऽनवरतोज्ज्वलमत्र मोदं धत्तेऽच्युतोऽयमिह मे गुरुराविरस्तु ॥
हरिहरगिरिनाथपादकल्पद्रुमतलसेवनगन्धचित्तवृत्तिः ।
मम हृदयसरोजसंपुटस्थः स्फुटयतु सद्गुरुरीप्सितानि कृष्णः ॥"

See also the Colophon:

"अकृत सुकृतशाली चम्पुसमायणेऽस्मिन्
विवृतिमतिमनोज्ञां वैष्णवः कृष्णशिष्यः ॥"

[38] R. 2773. Complete MS. is in Trippunittura Sanskrit College.

[39] "अस्ति श्रीराजराजाख्यो केरलेषु महीपतिः ।
अभूत् कश्चन निश्शेषगुरुसात्कृतसंपदः ॥
सर्वविद्यानिधेस्तस्य साहित्यदिशि देशिकः ।
श्रीवैष्णवकुलोद्भूतः शेवधिः कविसंपदाम् ॥
करुणाकरदासाख्यः कमलेक्षणनन्दनः ।
कुलपालिकया मात्रा कुशाग्रीयमनीषया ॥
संशिक्षिताक्षरतया साक्षरैरभिराधितः ।
सहस्रधेनोरुद्धृत्य सद्वृत्तैः श्लोकतर्णकैः ॥
विद्वद्गोष्ठ्यां विहरता व्याहृतः स महीभृता ।
'बह्वयोऽलोकिताव्याख्या वृत्तरत्नाकरस्य ताः ॥
अतो व्याख्या निबद्धव्या श्लाघ्या प्रेक्षावतां त्वया ।
कविचिन्तामणिरिति ख्यातिरस्या भविष्यति ॥"
इति शैलार्णवेन्द्रस्य वचनामृतसेचनात् ।
व्याचिख्यासा प्ररूढान्तरेवमस्योदजृम्भत ॥

refers to one Karuṇākara as his teacher;[40] this Vāsudeva belonged to Mūkkola.[41] Some scholars identify all these Karuṇākaras with the teacher of Mānavikrama, the Great.

There is a story connecting one Karuṇākara with Uddaṇḍa Śāstri. It is said that once Uddaṇḍa visited the temple at Mūkkola and began to compose a verse in honour of the Deity there. After composing the first half of the verse:

संभरितभूरिकृपमम्ब शुभमङ्ग
शुम्भतु चिरन्तनमिदं तव भदन्तः ।

he was thinking how to complete it in the same style, when a Mārār (temple-drummer) who was supplying the instrumental music on the *iḍakka* completed it thus:

जम्भरिपुकुम्भिवरकुम्भयुगडम्भ-
स्तम्भिकुचकुम्भपरिरम्भपरशम्भु ॥

Uddaṇḍa complimented the poet, whose name was Karuṇākara. There is a similar tradition connecting Uddaṇḍa with Śaṅkara also. The author of the commentary on *Vṛttaratnākara* says that he is a Piṣāroṭi,[42] whereas the story makes him a Mārār. Hence this story cannot be taken seriously.

Paṅkajākṣa, referred to by Mānavikrama as his teacher, is identified with the commentator on *Tripuradahana* who was also a Piṣāroṭi, and nephew of a scholar named Karuṇākara.[43] About Rāma, the third teacher of Mānavikrama, we do not know anything

(iv) *Uddaṇḍa Śāstri*

Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, one of the most popular poets in the court of Mānavikarama the Great of Kozhikode, was a Tamil Brahmin who came to Kerala in search of literary patronage; but he lived and worked for years in Kerala, appreciated and absorbed the Kerala culture and became the subject of local traditions throughout the land. Hence he has to be considered as a Kerala poet in any account of the literary history of the country during the period.

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[40] R. 2715 See colophon:

इति श्रीमत्करुणाकरशिष्येण साहित्यमल्लापराख्येन विरचितायां विद्धसालभञ्जिकामार्गदर्शिन्यां पञ्चमोऽङ्कः समाप्तः ॥

[41] *DC*. 12681.

" चित्ते निधाय करुणाकरनामधेयानस्मद्गुरुं गुरुकृपाभरपूरिताक्षान् ।
श्रीराजशेखरकवीन्द्रकृतेरमुष्याः किञ्चिद्यते पदपदार्थविवेकसिद्ध्यै ॥"
" भक्तस्य मे मनसि खेलतु सर्वकालं मुक्तिस्थलीनिलयिनी परदेवता सा ॥

[42] *Vide Supra.*

[43] Vide under *Tripuradahana* also.

Uddaṇḍa gives us some information about his early life in the Prologue to his drama, *Mallikāmāruta*.[44] He was a Brahmin of Lāṭapura on the banks of the Pālār (Kṣīranadī) in Toṇḍamaṇḍala (Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala), the present Chingleput District. He was the son of Raṅganātha and Raṅgadevī; his grandfather was Kṛṣṇa, and his great grandfather Gokulanātha. They belonged to the Vādhūlagotra, and followed the Āpastamba sūtra. Lāṭapura was a Brahmin centre famous for its great and pious scholars. Uddaṇḍa had his education there under eminent scholars.

According to M. Krishnamachariar[45] Nallā Dīkṣita refers to Uddaṇḍa as a native of Kaṇḍaramāṇikya in the Cola country; he suggests that Uddaṇḍa was probably born at Kaṇḍaramāṇikya, and that later in his life he might have settled in Lāṭapura near Kanci. This cannot be taken seriously, for Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, who has given a good deal of information about himself in the Prologue to his drama, is completely silent about such a thing. And Nallā Dīkṣita lived in the eighteenth century A.D., and consequently his words can have only the value of a traditional story. Moreover, the supposed reference to Uddaṇḍa is not clear; the word *uddaṇḍapaṇḍitādhyuṣitam* means only 'where great scholars flourished.'

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[44] See the prologue to the *Mallikāmāruta* (DC. 12580):

"अस्ति दक्षिणापथे..........तुण्डीरेषु क्षीरनदीतरङ्गक्षालितोपशल्यो लाटपुरो नाम महानग्रहारः। तत्र च,

तपश्चरणचुञ्चवः सकलशास्त्रमुष्टिंधयाः
स्वनुष्ठितमहाध्वराः श्रुतिपरायणाः श्रोत्रियाः ।
महाभिजनशालिनो वदनवर्तिवाग्देवता
वसन्त्यतिथिसत्कृतिक्षपितवासरा भूसुराः ॥

तत्र चामुष्यायनस्य, आपस्तम्बशाखाध्यायिनो वाधूलकुलतरुपल्लवस्य कवितावल्लभस्य उद्दण्डविपञ्चीपञ्चमोदञ्चितकीर्तेः, उपाध्यायगोकुलनाथपौत्रस्य कृष्णसूनोः पुत्रो भट्टरङ्गनाथस्य उद्दण्डकविरुत्युदारमभिजन्म ।"

Also colophon:

"उद्दण्डं रङ्गनाथः सुतमलभत यं रङ्गदेवी तथाम्बा ।"

[45] *HCSL*, p. 251.

It seems that Uddaṇḍa was not his real name; it was a title assumed by him later on; or perhaps it was a title conferred on him by some king. His real name is given in the drama as Irugupanātha.[46] He says that after his education he started on a tour throughout the country and visited Āndhra, Kaliṅga, Karṇāṭaka and Cola. Then he reached Kerala, visited famous rivers and temples and met great scholars and poets. Later he came to the court of the Zamorin of Kozhikode.[47]

The story is that when Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri introduced Uddaṇḍa Śāstri to Mānavikrama,[48] Śāstri praised him with the verse:

> उद्दण्डः परदण्डभैरव, भवद्यात्रासु जैत्रश्रियो
> हेतुः केतुरतीत्य सूर्यसरणिं गच्छन् निदार्यस्त्वया ।
> नो चेत्तत्पुटसंपुटोदरलसच्छार्दूलमुद्राद्रवत्-
> सारङ्गं शशिविम्बमेष्यति तुलां त्वत्प्रेयसीनां मुखैः ॥

and that the Zamorin who was greatly pleased with the verse conferred upon him the title of Uddaṇḍa. There is some self-contradiction in the story, for Cennās Nambūtiri is said to have introduced Śāstri as Uddaṇḍasūrin. If the poet received the title from the Zamorin, how could he be introduced earlier to the Zamorin himself as Uddaṇḍasūrin? It may also be noted that the verse does not refer directly to the Zamorin or any other particular king. The reference to the tiger as the emblem of the king suggests that the verse might have been dedicated to the Cola king before he came to Kerala. According to the statement in the drama, it was with the following verse that Uddaṇḍa praised the Zamorin when he met him for the first time:[49]

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[46] "कृष्णसूनोः भट्टरङ्गनाथस्य प्रियनन्दन इरुगुपनाथापरपर्यायो……"
(*Mallikāmāruta*, Calcutta edition, p. 12).

[47] *DC.* 12580.
स किल विधिवदुपासितात् तीर्थादधिगतसकलविद्यो दिदृक्षुर्दिगन्तराणि आन्ध्रकलिङ्गकर्णाटानाटित्य केरलानवतीर्णो मज्जन् महानदीषु, पश्यन् देवतास्थानानि, सेवमानः सज्जनान्, अभिनन्दन्नन्तर्वाणीं इदमेव ताम्रचूडक्रोडनगरमाढौकत ।
(ताम्रचूड = cock, for which the Malayalam term is *koḻi*, hence ताम्रचूडक्रोड is 'Kozhikode').

[48] *Vide Supra.* (तव खलु विषयेऽहिण्डतोद्दण्डसूरि)

प्रत्यर्थिभूमिपालप्रतापघर्मोत्थपुष्कलावर्त ।
विश्वम्भराकुटुम्बिन् विक्रम, विश्वैकवीर विजयस्व ॥

Uddaṇḍa Śāstri visited various parts of the country during his stay in Kerala, and made friends with the scholars and poets of the land. His *Kokilasandeśa* shows that he was very intimately acquainted with the northern half of Kerala. He refers in the poem to the poets like Śaṅkara in Kolattunāḍ, to princess Svāti of the royal family of Puraḷi (North Kottayam), and to the members of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family.[50] The heroine of the poem is a lady belonging to the Mārakkara[51] house in Chāndamangalam, quite possibly his wife in Kerala. King Udaya of the Maṇakkulam family refers to Uddaṇḍa Śāstri in intimate terms in the *Mayūrasandeśa*.[52] There are innumerable stories connecting Uddaṇḍa Śāstri with various places and persons. It is true that we cannot prove the accuracy of many of these stories; still they serve to show the great popularity of the poet in the land.

Uddaṇḍa Śāstri started from his native country of Lāṭapura seeking his fortune. When he came to the king of Karṇāṭaka, he found that the king was quite unwilling to help him. He left the place, after presenting the king with an insinuating verse telling him that he need not worry about repaying poets, and that it was not with any expectation of reward that poets composed verses describing the beauties of nature:

मा गाः प्रत्युपकारकातरतया वैवर्ण्यमाकर्णय
श्री कर्णाटवसुन्धराधिप सुधासिक्तानि सूक्तानि नः ।
वर्ण्यन्ते कविभिः पयोनिधिसरित्सन्ध्याभ्रविन्ध्याटवी-
झंझामारुतनिर्झरप्रभृतयस्तेभ्यः किमाप्तं फलम् ॥

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[49] Prologue to *Mallikāmāruta*.

[50] Part I, verses 60, 46-47, 78-80.

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“ माहाभाग्यं रतिपतिभुजाडम्बरः पौनरुक्त्यात्
कल्याणौघः स्फुरति रसिकानन्तताप्यत्र हीति ।
एषामाद्यक्षरगणमुपादाय बद्धेन नाम्ना
मान्यं मारक्करनिलयनं यत् कवीन्द्रा गृणन्ति ॥”

[52] *Vide Supra*.

It is said that Uddaṇḍa Śāstri was haughty and overbearing when he came to Kerala. He challenged the poetasters of the land thus:

पलायध्वं पलायध्वं रे रे दुष्कविकुञ्जराः ।
वेदान्तवनसञ्चारी ह्यायात्युद्दण्डकेसरी ॥

He derided with scorn and contempt the mediocre poetasters and pretenders to scholarship. The following verses attributed to him by tradition make this clear:

"उदात्तमदपित्तलद्विरदराजगण्डस्थली-
विदारणविनोदनक्षपितवासरः केसरी ।
कथं नु कलहक्रमं वितनुते परेताटवी-
पुराणकुणपाशनप्रकटितारवे फेरवे ॥[53]

"एकद्व्यक्षरंकष्टिपिष्टिघटनासंजातगर्वोद्धताः
कन्थामात्रकुविन्दकाः कवयितुं सज्जन्ति लज्जामुचः ।
स्वर्गानर्गलनिर्गलत्सुरसरित्पाथःप्रपातप्रथा-
प्रत्याख्यानपटीयसापि वचसा जिह्रेति जिह्वा मम ॥"

It seems that at that time there was one Nāṇappa Pisharoti at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr, an ancestor of the famous Acyuta Pisharoti, who wanted to have a debate with Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, but was contemptuously ignored by him with the remark:

ध्वन्यध्वन्यध्वनीनाः फणिपतिभणिताम्भोधिकुम्भीकुमाराः
धन्याः केचित्प्रथन्ते परगुणकणिकाश्लाघिनस्तान् नमामः ।
प्रत्याहारग्रहेऽपि भ्रमितमतिरसौ कोऽपि साहित्यविद्या-
काणो नाणप्पनामा प्रलपतु जरसा तावता मे न हानिः ॥

Uddaṇḍa's contempt was only for those who deserved it at least partly. He had great respect for the true poets and genuine scholars of the land. Though he gave a scathing criticism about Malayalam literature as full of defects and as having no metre, he appreciated the poetry of Punam and gave him an eloquent

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53. Bengal tradition attributes this verse to Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. Another tradition in South India attributes it to Vedānta Deśika.

tribute.[54] Uddaṇḍa's reference to the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas shows that he respected them very much.[55]

There is a story that once Uddaṇḍa was invited by the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas for a Kañji (rice gruel) feast; reluctantly he accepted the invitation out of respect for the Bhaṭṭas; but he liked the feast very much, and composed a few verses in praise of Kañji.

शुण्ठीकुण्ठीकृताम्भोगतगरिमभरां पैठरीं जाठराग्ने-
स्तापं निर्वापयन्तीं श्रमशमनकरीं मायुजायूभवन्तीम् ।
मौद्गैः शल्कैः परीतां परिमलबहुलां मण्डितां केरखण्डैः
नृणां श्राणां सुराणां पुनरक्त सुधां यः स वेधाः सुमेधाः ॥

अङ्गजतापनियन्त्री सुरुचिरलावण्यसम्पदा सुखदा ।
अधरीकृतोपदंशा श्राणा शोणाधरीव रमणीया ॥

Uddaṇḍa mixed very freely with the people and had many friends among the Nambūtiris. One story says that once he went to the house of Kūḍallūr Nambūtiris famous for grammatical scholarship, and composed a verse in appreciation of the simple and unostentatious life of the Kerala Brahmins:[56]

स्वस्मिन् वेश्मनि पूर्णवेश्मविभवे पूज्यान् समाराधयन्
प्रेयस्या गुणपूर्णया गुणवता पुत्रेण मित्रेण च ।
सार्धं प्रावृषि केरलेषु निवसन् प्रीत्या समाकर्णयन्
लीलां राघवकृष्णयोः क्षपयते कालं स धन्यो जनः ॥

It is said that he was invited to stay there teaching the children and that he declined the offer with the following remark:

वाचा वाक्यपदप्रमाणपदवीसञ्चारसंपूतया
सन्नह्यत्प्रतिमल्लगल्लमकुटीकुट्टाकधाटीजुषा ।
साटोपं विहरन् कथं नु रमते साहित्यमुद्रारसे
प्रौढस्त्रीरसिकाय बालवनितासङ्गः कथं रोचते ॥

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[54] *Vide Supra*, p. 64.

[55] See also his tribute to the Nambutiri Brahmins of Kerala:
"सर्वोत्कृष्टा जगति विदिताः केरलेषु द्विजेन्द्राः ।"
(*Kokilasandeśu*)

[56] This verse is found in the Malayalam work *Rāmāyaṇacampū* also. Hence Uddaṇḍa's authorship of the verse is not certain.

The following verse about the Oṇam festival of Kerala is also supposed to come from the pen of Uddaṇḍa:

चोकूयन्ते पृथुकततयश्चापताडिन्य उच्चैः
सर्वा नार्यः पतिभिरनिशं लम्भयन्त्यर्थकामान् ।
बम्भ्रम्यन्ते सकलपुरुषैर्वल्लभाभ्यः प्रदातुं
चित्रं वस्त्रं, श्रवणकुतुकं वर्तते केरलेषु ॥

When he visited the temple at Ūrakam, a few miles to the south of Trichur, he is said to have composed the following verse addressing the deity thus:

कान्तः कपाली कठिनः पिता ते 'मेने'ति मातुस्तव नामधेयम् ।
कथं तु भद्रे वलयालयस्थे वदान्यता मादृशि बोभवीतु ॥

In the case of the following verse praising the Zamorin of Calicut, the story is that the metre for it was suggested to Uddaṇḍa by the sound of the *iḍakka,* a kind of drum used in the Kerala temples:[57]

नृत्यध्धूर्जटिकरगतडमरुकडुमुडुमुपटुरवपरिपन्थिन्यः
कल्पक्ष्मारुहविकसितकुसुमजमधुरसमधुरिमसहचारिण्यः ।
मन्थक्ष्माधरविमथितजलनिधिघुमुघुमुघनरवमदमन्थिन्यः
शैलाब्धीश्वरनृपवर, विदधतु बुधसुखमयि तव वचसां श्रेण्यः ॥

On one occasion Uddaṇḍa Śāstri is said to have gone to a Śiva temple[58] and composed the three lines of a verse, which was completed immediately by a Nambutiri Brahmin who was sitting nearby on the *maṇḍapa* of the temple, answering the question raised.

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[57] The story is that the verse was composed at a temple. K. Rama Pisharoti says (BRVI, IX, p. 117) that "from the concluding *pāda* of the song it would be clear that the verse must have been sung either in the temple at Tali, or in some other important temple belonging to the Zamorin". But there is no reference to a temple or a Deity in the verse; perhaps, the tradition is based on the peculiar metre used in this verse.

[58] It is the temple at Trichur according to some, and the temple at Tali according to others. The scholar who completed the verse is Punam Nambutiri according to one tradition, and Cennās Nambutiri according to another story.

The verse is given below:

वीणालसन्मणिखलाय नमोऽस्तु तस्मै
वीणाघृणाजिनवते तृणिनेतृणाय।
अर्घोऽयमीश्वरनमस्कृतये कथं स्याद्
अस्योत्तरोक्तिमविदन्नपि कीदृशः स्यात् ॥

Here the last line is itself a question whose answer is *viṣaṇṇa* (sad); this can also be the answer to the question contained in the first three lines, if the term *viṣaṇṇa* is interpreted as "devoid of six 'ṇ's". When six 'ṇ's are removed from the first half of the verse, it becomes:

व्यालसन्मेखलाय व्याघ्राजिनवते त्रिनेत्राय तस्मै नमोऽस्तु ।

which is clearly a salutation to Śiva.

We cannot say how far these traditional stories are reliable. The following verse which is traditionally ascribed to Uddaṇḍa is found in the *Śākinīsahakāra Campū*[59] of Gopālakavi belonging to Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala:

अनाराध्य कालीमनास्वाद्य वीटीं
ऋते मन्त्रशक्तिं विना ग्रन्थचौर्यम् ।
प्रपञ्चप्रसिद्धं प्रबन्धं प्रबन्धुं
विरिञ्चिप्रपञ्चे मदन्यः कविः कः ॥

It is said that when he was defeated by Kākkaśśeri Bhaṭṭatiri in the Śāstraic discussions, he left Kerala for ever. There is a story that Uddaṇḍa became the custodian of law in a Tamil village and that Kākkaśśeri was once brought before him as a witness in a quarrel between two local men. Kākkaśśeri Bhaṭṭatiri did not know the language, but could reproduce faithfully the sounds produced by the two men during their quarrel!

(v) *Uddaṇḍa's Works*

The lyrical poem *Kokilasandeśa* and the drama *Mallikāmāruta* are the two well known works of Uddaṇḍa; the former is modelled after Kālidāsa's *Meghasandeśa,* whereas the latter is an imitation of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*. In the *Kokilasandeśa*[60] a message is sent by a lover from Kāñci in the Chingleput District of the Madras Presidency to his sweetheart in Chendamangalam (Jayantamaṅgalam) lying between the two arms of the Alwaye river. The heroine's house-name is Mārakkara; at present there is no such house at Chendamangalam. The message is sent through a *Kokila* (cuckoo). He is asked to enter Kerala in its north-eastern corner through Mysore (Hosala). The most important places on the way to Chendamaṇgalam are described. Tirunelli comes first; then is Kottayam, the capital of the Puraḷi kings, where in ancient days there lived the great king Hariścandra who patronized the Kumārila school of Mīmāṃsakas. There the poet refers to the beautiful princess Svātī. From Kottayam the messenger is asked to go to Talipparamba and see its greatness. Then, after visiting the famous Viṣṇu temple at Tṛccemmaram, he has to go to the Kola country where flourished at that time great poets like Śaṅkara. At Kozhikode the poet describes the ships in the harbour and alludes to the flourishing trade there. The charming ladies of the town are also mentioned; but there is no reference to Mānavikrama or to the Academy of learned men in his court. Further south the messenger is to reach Veṭṭattunāḍ (Prakāśa country), and the famous temple at Triprangot. The poet refers to the national festival of Māghotsava (Māmāṅkam) at Tirunāvāy on the banks of the Ponnani river (Nilā). Then visiting the country of Āḷvāñceri Tamprākkal (Netranārāyaṇa), the Mūkkola temple and the house of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas, he has to go to Trichur. From there he will have to pass through Perumanam, Ūrakam and Irinjalakkuda. Then through Cranganore he is to reach Chendamangalam, where lived the heroine.

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[59] One manuscript of it is with Dr. Kunhan Raja. For a discussion about the contradictions in such popular traditions, see K. Kunjunni Raja *Maṅgalodayam,* XIX.

K. Rama Pisharoti says[61] that the *Kokilasandeśa* was written by Uddaṇḍa after he had returned to his native place; but the fact that the message is from Conjeevaram does not require that the poet should be physically present at the place when he wrote the poem. The absence of any reference to the learned academy under Mānavikrama at Kozhikode suggests that the poem was written before he became acquainted with the Zamorin. Pisharoti wants us to believe that Mānavikrama must have been dead by the time the poem was written; but even then surely Uddaṇḍa could not have forgotten his patron. In this poem the poet is perhaps describing the route by which he came to Kerala. This also explains the lack of reference to the temple at Guruvāyūr,[62] and to the king of Cochin. One may also note that it is young poets who write such love poems. The reference to Śaṅkara of Kollattunāḍ shows that the date of the poem cannot be earlier than 1422 A.D.

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[60] Edited with short notes by P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, and published from the Mangalodayam Ltd., Trichur. For a description of the places mentioned in the poem, see Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *Some Sandeśakāvyas and Malabar Geography*, Dr. B. C. Law Volume, Part I, (1945).

[61] *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

The absence of any reference to the Pāliyat Accan at Chendamangalam is quite natural, for the prominent position of the Pāliyat Accan as one of the influential nobles of the Cochin State came only during the Dutch period of Kerala history. Rama Pisharoti's fanciful theory,[63] that Mānavikrama might have married a lady from Pāliyam, that the lady might have returned home after the death of the Zamorin and that Uddaṇḍa is paying his respects in this poem to his master's consort, is not supported by any evidence.[64] It is generally believed that Uddaṇḍa Śāstri married a lady from the Mārakkara house in Chendamangalam, and that the heroine of the *Kokilasandeśa* was his own wife.

The *Kokilasandeśa* is an excellent lyrical poem written in a lucid style quite in keeping with the love sentiment depicted. It is one of the most popular Sandeśa Kāvyas in Kerala. In gracefulness of diction and the sweetness of melody it excels even the *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa. The following verse describing Kozhikode may be given as an illustration of his style:

यत्र ज्ञात्वा कृतनिलयनामिन्दिरामात्मकन्यां
मन्ये स्नेहाकुलितहृदयो वाहिनीनां विवोढा ।
तत्तद्द्वीपान्तरशतसमानीतरत्नौघपूर्णं
नौकाजालं मुहुरुपहरन् वीचिभिः श्लिष्यतीव ॥

The *Mallikāmāruta* is a drama in ten acts and belongs to the *Prakaraṇa* type. Keith calls it[65] a slavish imitation of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*. It describes the story of the love between

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[62] Guruvāyūr became very famous after the time of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; but it was known even earlier. See *Cakorasandeśa*.

[63] BRVI IX, p. 124.

[64] The house of the Pāliyat Accan was not at Chendamangalam at that time.

[65] *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 258. See also Sten Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 110; Sylvain Levi, *La Theatre Indien*, p. 217.

Mallikā, daughter of Viśvāvasu who is the minister of the Vidyādhara king, and Māruta, the son of Brahmadatta who is the minister of the king of Kuntala. The magician Mandākinī who is anxious to bring about their marriage arranges for an interview, where both fall in love with each other at first sight. But the match is disturbed as the king of Ceylon seeks Mallikā's hand, at which Māruta gets into despair. His friend Kalakaṇṭha has a similar fate with his sweetheart Ramayantikā. In Act III the two friends get an opportunity to save the two maidens from the anger of a couple of wild elephants. Māruta is told by an emissary of the king of Ceylon that Kalakaṇṭha has perished. Māruta wants to commit suicide, but at the last moment the friend himself appears and prevents him from the attempt. Later in the fifth act Māruta tries conjuring up spirits; he finds Mallikā stolen by a Rākṣasa, and rescues her. But he is himself stolen by the Rākṣasa, whom he finally overcomes. Still Mallikā has to be married to the king of Ceylon. Māruta abducts her. Kalakaṇṭha does the same with Ramayantikā. Mallikā is abducted for a second time, and again saved by Māruta after a long search. Finally all difficulties are removed, and the lovers are united under Mandākinī's protection. The king and parents accord their sanction.

This book was published by Jivananda Vidyasagara from Calcutta in 1878 A.D., with a commentary by Raṅganātha. Both the publisher and the commentator have wrongly attributed the work to Daṇḍin, author of the *Kāvyādarśa*. The text itself says that its author is Uddaṇḍa, a court poet of Mānavikrama of Kozhikode.

Not only in the construction of the plot, but in the style also Uddaṇḍa follows Bhavabhūti. Even the names of the characters are "of equal and similar syllabic content."[66] One of the Nāndī verses itself is written on the model of a Nāndī verse in the *Mālatīmādhava*.

चूडाशीतकरस्तनन्धयसुधानीरन्ध्रगन्धस्पृशः
क्रीडाकङ्कणपन्नगेश्वरफणापीतावशेषा मुहुः ।
अङ्कासीनगिरीन्द्रजास्तनतटीहारावलीलोलनाः
सन्तापं शमयन्तु वो हरजटागङ्गातरङ्गानिलाः ॥

(*Mallikāmāruta*)

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[66] Dr. V. Raghavan, *The Social Play in Sanskrit*, p. 12.

चूडापीडकपर्दसंकुलचलन्मन्दाकिनीवारयो
विद्युत्प्रान्तललाटलोचनपुटज्योतिर्विमिश्रत्विषः ।
पान्तु त्वामकठोरकेतकशिखासन्दिग्धमुग्धेन्दवो
भूतेशस्य भुजङ्गवल्लिवलयस्रङ्नद्धजूटा जटाः ॥

(*Mālatīmādhava*)

Very often Uddaṇḍa is quite successful in adopting the style of Bhavabhūti, as in:

यत्तिर्यग्वलितं यदश्रु गलितं यच्चाञ्चले कूणितं
तत्सर्वं किमु दीर्घयोर्नयनयोर्नैसर्गिको विभ्रमः ।
आहोस्विन्मदनुग्रहव्यसनिनो मारस्य लीलायितं
धिङ् मां येन गतत्रपेण किमपि प्रत्याशया कल्प्यते ॥

"The work is metrically interesting, because the author shows a remarkable preference for the *Vasantatilaka* (118) and while he is fond of the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, and a great variety of metres, he unlike most later authors, uses freely the *Āryā* in its different forms."[67]

There is a collection of about fifty verses[68] praising the beauty and charm of Princess Svāti of the Puraḷi royal family, most probably identical with the princess of that name mentioned in the *Kokilasandeśa;* this *Svātipraśaṃsā* is generally ascribed to Uddaṇḍa himself. These erotic verses, pretending to show the poet's great intimacy with the princess, as:

अन्तः स्वाति, मुहुः स्मरामि तव तानास्वादधौताधरान्
आस्विन्नानसहायपाणिकमलप्रारब्धमुग्धाञ्जलीन् ।
कण्ठान्दोलितकुण्डलान् कबरिकाषण्डभ्रमत्षट्पदान्
कण्ठान्तर्विनलत्कपोतनिनदान् कन्दर्पलीलोत्सवान् ॥

are only epistolatory in nature, for the poet says at the end of the poem that they were written to please the princess, and that he was awarded a present of a silk garment by her for writing them. Poets used to write such erotic verses about prominent ladies in order to please them in those days.[69]

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[67] Keith, *loc. cit.*

[68] *R.* 4199b. See also *SPT.*, VII. 8.

In the bundle containing the manuscript of the *Svātīpraśaṃsā*, there are many other verses on different topics: some are in praise of the Deities of the temples at Tṛccemmaram, Cellūr, Tali, Mūkkola etc., many others eulogize Mānavikrama, Zamorin of Kozhikode; Śaṅkararāma, king of Parūr; and Śrīdevī, a beautiful girl of Chendamangalam. K. Rama Pisharoti identifies[70] this Śrīdevī with the heroine of the *Kokilasandeśa*. Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer attributes[71] the *Naṭāṅkuśa* also to Uddaṇḍa; it is a work criticizing the method of acting Sanskrit dramas adopted by the Cākyars of Kerala. There is no evidence to show that it is by Uddaṇḍa.

vi. *Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa of Kākkaśśeri*

Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa of Kākkaśśeri is said to have been Uddaṇḍa Śāstri's chief rival at Kozhikode. We have noted that according to the popular traditions he was born as a precocious boy by the divine power of the *mantras* with which the pious Nambutiri Brahmins had consecrated the food taken by his mother during her pregnancy. In the prologue to the *Vasumatīmānavikrama* he says[72] that he had his education at the hands of a great scholar named Nārāyaṇa, and that the Zamorin himself had taken a personal interest in his education even from his childhood. This Nārāyaṇa belonged to Tiruvegappura and might have been one of the court poets of the Zamorin.

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[69]

हुं हो भाग्यमनर्गलं मम, यतः स्वाती सुधाभाषिणी
श्रुत्वा मद्भणितिं सुगन्धिघुसृणप्रारब्धपत्राङ्कुरात् ।
वक्षोजादवकृष्य बालतरणिप्रोद्यन्महःकन्दली-
कुट्टाकद्युति कोमलांशुकयुतं पट्टांशुकं प्रादित ॥

[70] *BRVI*, IX, p. 124.

[71] *KSC*, II, p. 48f. See also *KSSC*, III, R.3003.

[72]

"अस्ति दक्षिणापथे ...केरलेषु .... निलासहचरीकूले...साक्षाद् अशोकपुरेश्वरो नाम भगवान् पिनाकपाणिः ।

अस्त्यद्रिकन्यापतिपादपीठविचेष्टमानाशयपुण्डरीकः ।
नारायणाचार्य इति प्ररूढिं प्राप्तः परां प्राज्ञधियां पुरोगः ॥

तस्य चरणारविन्दयुगलीगलितरेणुपरमाणुपातपूतचेतनासारः सारस्वतनिधिना साक्षाद्त्रिसमुद्रनायकेनैवानेन बाल्यादेवारभ्य वैपश्चितीं वृत्तिमधिकृत्य परां काष्ठामारोपितः....अयं कविरसाधारणमहिमैव"

(Quoted in *KSC*, II, p. 56). See also P. V. Krishna Warrier, *Kakkaśśeri Bhaṭṭatiri*, Mathrubhumi Annual, 1935.

Nothing definite can be said about Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa's birth-place. According to one tradition he belonged to a place called Kākkaśśeri near Brahmakkala in Ponnani Taluq; according to another tradition his birth place Kākkaśśeri is near Cāliśśeri on the way from Pattambi to Guruvāyur. From his reference to the Deity at the temple at Tiruvegappura (Aśokapureśvara) some scholars infer that Dāmodara was a native of that place.

Tradition says that Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa lost his father at the age of three, and that, during the daily obsequial ceremony which followed for an year, he was able to recognize the crows that came daily to get the rice balls offered; it is even said that he got the name Kākkaśśeri due to his power of distinguishing crows from one another. This story seems to be nothing but a fanciful attempt at deriving the term *Kākkaśśeri*;[73] obviously it was his house name, and there is no necessity to explain its derivation.

Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa finished his education when he was twelve years old; then he went to the Tali temple to take part in the annual debate and challenged Uddaṇḍa Śāstri. The following are the verses attributed to Kākkaśśeri challenging his rival:

न छत्रं, न तुरङ्गमो, न वदतां बृन्दानि, नो वन्दिनो
न श्मश्रूणि, नं फालपट्टवसनं, न ह्यम्बराडम्बरम् ।
अस्त्यस्माकममन्दमन्दरगिरिप्रोद्धूतदुग्धोदधि-
प्रेङ्खद्वीचिपरम्परापरिणता वाणी तु नाणीयसी ॥

वेदं बह्वृचमध्यगीषि, कवितामप्यादृषि, व्यापृषि
न्याये व्याकरणं व्यजैषि, विषमे वैशेषिके क्लेशिषि ।
मीमांसामपि पर्यचैषमुभयीं, व्याख्यं च साङ्ख्यं, स्मृती-
रभ्यास्थं श्रदधां पुराणपदवीं, योगे च पर्यश्रमम् ॥

शब्दव्याकृतिनर्मकर्मणि पटीयस्ता तव स्याद्यदि
त्वं कस्यापि पदस्य भद्रय दढां द्राक् प्रक्रियोपक्रियाम् ।
मीमांसारसमांसला यदि गिरो न्यायोऽपि कोऽपीर्दतां
तर्के वा यदि कर्कशोऽस्यनुमितिं कामप्यनल्पीकुरु ॥

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[73] *Kākka* in Malayalam means 'a crow'.

कुर्वे गर्वोद्धतस्य प्रतिवदितुरहं भारतीमप्यसाध्वीं
साध्वीं, साध्वीमसाध्वीं बुधवरसमितौ लक्षणेन क्षणेन ।
मानाभासं प्रमाणं प्रमितिगतिवशादप्रमाणं प्रमाणं
सच्चासत्तत्तथासन्निशमयत बुधा मच्चरित्रं विचित्रम् ॥

The one verse that is attributed to Uddaṇḍa Śāstri during the debate is the following:

उक्तिप्रत्युक्तिमार्गक्रमपरिचयवानस्ति कश्चिद्विपश्चिद्
यद्यस्मिन् स्वस्ति तस्मै बुधवरसमितौ बिभ्यदभ्यागतोऽभूत् ।
भाङ्कुर्वन् भेककुक्षिंभरिषु भयभरोद्भ्रान्तभोगीन्द्रसुभ्रू-
भ्रूणभ्रंशी किमम्भःफणिषु पतगराट् संभ्रमी बम्भ्रमीति ॥

It is said that Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa defeated Uddaṇḍa in his own field of dialectics and restored the honour of the Kerala Brahmins. The story is that when Uddaṇḍa remarked "आकारो ह्रस्वः" (The body is short) referring to his rival's appearance, Kākkaśśeri refuted the statement, saying that आकार (the vowel ā) is long. The same story is current elsewhere connecting it with Vedānta Deśika also. It is said that Uddaṇḍa gave as an unquestionable statement "तव माता पतिव्रता" "(Your mother is a chaste woman); then Kākkaśśeri is said to have refuted even that, quoting from the scriptures in suppport of his stand:

सोमः प्रथमो विविदे गन्धर्वो विविद उत्तरः ।
तृतीयोऽग्निष्टे पतिस्तुरीयस्ते मनुष्यजाः ॥

According to this Vedic hymn Soma, Gandharva and Agni are supposed to enjoy the bride before sanction is given to man to be her husband.

It is said that later in life Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa became completely detached towards the world. When he was asked why he was not performing the daily prayers at daybreak and at sunset, he is said to have quoted the Upaniṣadic passage saying that when the sun of knowledge was ever shining, there was no morning and no sunset:

हृदाकाशे चिदादित्यः सदा भाति निरन्तरम् ।
उदयास्तमयौ न स्तः कथं सन्ध्यामुपास्महे ॥

The orthodox Nambutiris began to consider him an outcaste; but no one could argue with him. At last they sought his own advice as to what they should do in times of difficulty. He advised them to worship Goddess Pārvatī. The conversation between Kākkaśśeri and the Nambutiris is said to have been in the form of the following verse:

आपदि किं करणीयं ? स्मरणीयं चरणयुगलमम्बायाः ।
तत्स्मरणं किं कुरुते ? ब्रह्मादीनपि च किङ्करीकुरुते ॥

The Nambutiris accordingly worshipped the Goddess with the hope that Kākkaśśeri no longer set a bad example for others. The story is that after a few days Bhaṭṭatiri left Kerala for ever.

Many stray verses are attributed to Kākkaśśeri. Some have already been noted. In the following verse six questions are put in the first three lines, and their answers given in the last line:

कः खे चरति, का रम्या, किं जप्यं, किं नु भूषणम् ।
को वन्द्यः, कीदृशी लङ्का, वीरमर्कटकम्पिता ॥

The answers are *Viḥ*—bird, *ramā*—a girl, *ṛk*—the Ṛgveda, *kaṭakam*—bracelet, *pitā*—father, and *Vīramarkaṭakampitā*—shaken by brave monkeys.

The *Vasumatīmānavikrama*[74] of Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa is a drama in seven Acts belonging to the Nāṭaka type, which describes the story of Mānavikrama's marriage with Vasumatī, daughter of his minister Maṅṅāṭ Accan. The king first meets Vasumatī in a dream, and falls in love with her. His condition is well described in the first Act. The second Act is almost on the model of the third Act of *Śākuntala*. Vasumatī who has also fallen in love with the king is suffering from its effects, and is being consoled by her friends Mṛṇālinī and Rudravaitālikā. The king, followed by the Vidūṣaka, comes to the scene. Later he is separated from the heroine. The queen is angry at his attachment towards Vasumatī, and determines to commit suicide. The king and Vidūṣaka come there in time to pacify her.

In the beginning the dramatist praises Kālidāsa, Harṣa and Rājaśekhara; the influence of these poets is found in the drama also. In the plot construction he is indebted to Kālidāsa and Harṣa, and in the general style and the diction of the verses, and especially in the use of the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, he follows Rāja-śekhara with complete success. One of the Nāndī verses:

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[74] One manuscript of the work is with Kuttyettan Raja, Guruvayurappan College, Kozhikode, and another with K. Narayana Pisharoti, M.A., Trichur.

पृथ्वीचक्रलुठज्जटापटलिकागर्भक्षरत्स्वर्धुनी-
वीचीचञ्चलदिन्दुखण्डकलितश्रोणीविलासक्रमाः ।
मानग्रन्थिलशैलराजतनयामौनच्छिदाकाङ्क्षिणः
सन्तोषं प्रदिशन्तु नः प्रणयिनः शम्भोः प्रणामक्रियाः ॥

and the description of the stars:

स्फुरन्ति गगनाङ्गणे नटनचण्डचण्डीपति-
भ्रमभ्रमितजाह्नवीसलिलबिन्दुसन्देहदाः ।
स्मरोत्सववशंवदत्रिदशवारवामेक्षणा-
कुचत्रुटितमौक्तिकभ्रमदविभ्रमास्तारकाः ॥

illustrate his general style. Sometimes he follows Kālidāsa's style, as in the verse:

प्रवालकेलीतलिमे शयाना मृणालहारा नवविद्रुमाभे ।
एषा विधत्ते कुतुकं दृशोर्मे सन्ध्याम्बुदे चान्द्रमसी कलेव ॥

Sometimes he adopts the style of Bhavabhūti as in the verse:

लीलाताण्डवितभ्रु निर्भरमदं निष्कम्पपक्ष्मद्वयं
मज्जत्तारमरालपादमुदयद्बाष्पं मिलत्संभ्रमम् ।
सव्रीडं च सकौतुकं च सभयस्नेहं च मुग्धेक्षणा
यन्मामैक्षत तन्मनोरथतरोर्जातस्य बीजायते ॥

He is a great master in the description of love in separation, in which he excels even his rival Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, though generally speaking, Uddaṇḍa is superior to Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa in literary merit. Words of worldly wisdom are also found in the drama:

वहेदनुष्णांशुरशीतदीधितिं
वहेत् कदाचिद् दहनोऽपि शीतताम् ।
शिलापि चार्द्रत्वमुपैति चेतना
न नाम मानान्धदृशां मृगीदृशाम् ॥

Though Kākkaśśeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa is popular throughout Kerala, it is mainly through his stray verses and the traditional stories about his debate with Uddaṇḍa Śāstri; he certainly deserves to be well known as a great dramatist and as a talented poet.

M. Krishnamachariar attributes[75] the Sanskrit drama called *Indumatīrāghava*[76] to Kākkaśśeri; but in that drama it is said that it is the work of a Brahmin disciple of a scholar named Ravivarman who had his house on the banks of the river *Prācī* in Kerala. So Kākkaśśeri cannot be its author.

(vii) *The Payyūr Bhaṭṭas*

The Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family[77] has played an important role in the history of Sanskrit literature in Kerala. There have been many scholars and poets in that family, and their contribution to the Mīmāṁsā literature and Sanskrit poetry is immense both in volume and in depth. In the Malayalam work called *Uṇṇunīlisandeśa* belonging to the fourteenth century A.D. there is reference to the poetry of Payyūr Bhaṭṭas.[78] Both Uddaṇḍa Śāstri and Kākkaśśeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa who were patronized by Mānavikrama, the Zamorin of Calicut, in the beginning of the fifteenth century have also praised the great scholars of the Payyūr family; Uddaṇḍa actually mentions one Maharṣi and his son Parameśvara of that ancient family as great authorities on Mīmāṃsā and literature.[79] From a study of the various works written by members of that family it is possible to gather fairly detailed information about six generations of scholars of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family from about the fourteenth century.

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[75] *HCSL*, p. 250.

[76] R.3213. See the introductory portion there:

अस्ति केरलेषु....प्राचीनामधेया सरित्प्रवरा ।
तस्यास्तीरे विलसतितरां तारकाधीशमौलेः
क्षेत्रं तत्र प्रथितयशसामस्ति वस्त्यं पवित्रम् ।
कैलासानामजनि रविवर्माभिधेयस्तदीये
वंशे विद्याविहृतिनिलयः पथ्यबोधो नराणाम् ॥
देशिकस्यास्य करुणामवलम्ब्य परं बलम् ।
अकरोद्रूपकमिदं कोऽपि भूसुरबालकः ॥

[77] For detailed information about the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas see S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Introduction to *Sphoṭasiddhi* (Madras University); V. A. Ramasvami Sastri. Introduction to *Tattvabindu* (Annamalai University); Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Introduction to *Haricarita* (Adyar Library); *JORM*, 1945; *ALB*, IX; Dr. P. K. Narayana Pilla, Introduction to *Jaiminīyasūtrārthasaṅgraha*, (*TSS*. 156), etc.

[78] *Uṇṇunilisandeśa*, Part II, verse 14: *Pāṭṭam Payyūr kavita cuvayilla.*

[79] *Vide supra.*

The family of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas is at present situated near Porkkalam, about sixteen miles to the northwest of Trichur. In the fifteenth century Uddaṇḍa Śāstri gives the exact location of their house as slightly to the east of Porkkalam (*Raṇakhala* in Sanskrit).[80] Their village was called Velaṅgāḍ, or Vedāraṇya.[81] Even now there is a temple of that name near the family of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas. The Deity of the temple is Goddess Gopālikā. conceived as the daughter of Nandagopa.[82] This family Deity is praised in almost all the works of the members of the Payyūr family.

In the *Cakorasandeśa*,[83] supposed to be the work of some member of the Payyūr family, the destination of the messenger is Vedāraṇya which is described as a seat of learning; but this Vedāraṇya seems to be further north of Tirunāvāy, about fifteen miles to the north of Porkkalam. On the basis of this Dr. C. Kunhan Raja suggested[84] that the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas might have had their original home to the north of the Ponnani river, and that the family might have migrated to the present place before the time of Uddaṇḍa Śāstri. The poet does not seem to have cared to describe the correct route; he has only described many of the important places of Kerala in his time. So the mention of the Ponnani river before describing Vedāraṇya may, perhaps, be due to the poet's indifference towards geographical accuracy. Anyhow, we cannot be sure about the migration of the family to its present place.

Some scholars once believed[85] that the famous Mīmāṃsaka writer Maṇḍanamiśra was an ancestor of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas. This view was based on the wrong interpretation of a verse in the commentary by Payyūr Parameśvara on the *Sphoṭasiddhi* of Maṇḍanamiśra. The verse there:

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[80] *Kokilasandeśa*, I. 78:

किञ्चित् पूर्वा रणखलभुवि श्रीमदध्यक्षयेशाः
तन्मीमांसाद्वयकुलगुरोः सद्म पुण्यं महर्षेः ।

[81] It is variously Sanskritized as Vedavana, Vedāraṇya, Śrutivaṇa Śrutikāntara, Nigamavana, Nigamāraṇya.

[82] See the commentary on *Sphoṭasiddhi* (3rd verse at the end):

नन्दगोपसुता देवी वेदारण्यनिवासिनी ।

[83] R.3607.

[84] *JORM*, XV, p. 14; Introduction to *Haricarita*, pp. 24ff. See also Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC*, II, p. 30. The place described just before Vedāraṇya—*sādrisaṁjñam saras*—may perhaps be Kunnamkulam near Porkkalam.

[85] *KSSC*, I, p. 453; K. Rama Pisharoti, *BRVI*, IX, p. 26f. This is disproved by E. V. Raman Nambutiri, *SPT*, VI, p. 239f.

मण्डनाचार्यकृतयो येष्वधीयन्त कृत्स्नशः ।
तद्वंश्येन मयाप्येषा रचिताराध्य देवताः ॥

means only that the author Parameśvara was born in a family which had been specializing in Maṇḍana's works. It is difficult to see how one can assume from this verse that Maṇḍana was a member of the Payyūr family.

The earliest member of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family about whom we have some literary references is Ṛṣi I. He has a brother named Bhavadāsa who was a great scholar in Vedānta and a devotee of Śiva. Ṛṣi I married Gaurī and got a son named Parameśvara I. This Parameśvara has written several works, where he refers to his parents and uncle. He also speaks of himself as the student of Śaṅkara Pūjyapāda. The following works of Parameśvara I are known: (1) *Sumanoramaṇī*,[86] a commentary on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, (2) *Juṣadhvaṃkaraṇī* and (3) *Svaditaṅkaraṇī*,[87] commentaries on the *Nyāyakaṇikā* of Vācaspatimiśra, (4) *Haricarita*[88] a short poem, and (5) *Nyāyasamuccaya*, a work on Mīmāṁsā. Of these *Sumanoramaṇī*, *Svaditaṅkaraṇī* and *Haricarita* are available. *Juṣadhvaṃkaraṇī* is mentioned in the *Svaditaṅkaraṇī*[89] and must be the earlier of the two. *Haricarita*, *Nyāyasamuccaya* and the commentaries on the *Nyāyakaṇikā* are referred to in *Sumanoramaṇī*.[90] His parents, uncle and teacher are mentioned in the

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[86] Published in *JT*, I & II; see Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *ALB*, IX; V. A. Ramasvami Sastri, *Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume*, pp. 353ff.

[87] R. 3595.

[88] Edited by V. Krishnamacharya, and published from Adyar Library, 1948.

[89] R. 3595:

जुषध्वंकरणीव्याख्या रचितास्माभिरादितः ।
स्वदितङ्करणीव्याख्या संप्रतीयं वितन्यते ॥

[90] *Sumanoramaṇī* (quoted by V. A. Ramasvami Sastri, *Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume*, p. 353f :

अनुदिनमभिनवरूपा सुमनोरमणीव जगति जयतितराम् ।
हरिचरितकाव्यसहभूर्व्याख्यासौ मेघदूतस्य ॥
मन्त्रब्राह्मणसूत्रवित् कृतमतिः शास्त्रे च कौमारिले
कर्ता न्यायसमुच्चयस्य कणिकाव्याख्याप्रणेता कविः ।
उत्पत्तिं त्वघमर्षणप्रवरजाद्गौर्यामृषेराप्तवान्
कर्तास्याः परमेश्वरो नतशिराः पूज्ये गुरौ शङ्करे ॥

Sumanoramaṇī and in the *Svaditaṅkaraṇī*.[91] The reference to Śaṅkara as *Pūjyapāda* suggests that he was a saṃnyāsin. Dr. Kunhan Raja suggests that Śaṅkara may be the author of the *Niruktavārttika* from which Parameśvara quotes.[92] V. A. Ramasvami Sastri takes Śaṅkara also as an uncle of Parameśvara I, but there is no evidence to support that view.[93]

Parameśvara I was a great scholar, critic and poet. His *Nyāyasamuccaya* is mentioned as an authority by his grandson Parameśvara II in *Tattvavibhāvana*.[94] The *Sumanoramaṇī* is an elaborate and comprehensive commentary on the *Meghadūta* often drifting into Śāstriac discussions, and criticizing the views of Pūrṇasarasvati given in the *Vidyullatā*. A comparative study of the two commentaries shows that Parameśvara I must have been a younger contemporary of Pūrṇasarasvati.[95] There are two recensions of the text of *Sumanoramaṇī*. The *Haricarita* is a poem of 248 stanzas dealing with the story of Kṛṣṇa, each stanza beginning with one of the astronomical *vākyas* of Vararuci in the same order. It is interesting as one of the curiosities in literature, though as poetry it does not reach a very high standard.

Parameśvara I had five sons: Ṛṣi II, Bhavadāsa II, Vāsudeva I, Subrahmaṇya and Śaṅkara. Of these the eldest Ṛṣi II married Gopālikā and had a son Parameśvara II. This Parameśvara was a very great scholar in Mīmāṃsā and has several important works

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लब्धभवदासभावो भगवति भक्त्याख्यया च भवदासः ।
वादी वेदान्तरतो यस्य पितृव्यः स एव कर्तास्याः ॥

Also see *TP.*, 1875:

कौमारिलाचार्यवरस्य नाम्ना वृत्तेन मूर्त्यापि च शङ्करस्य ।
शिष्येण सृष्टा परमेश्वरेण व्याख्येयमेनां विमृशन्तु सन्तः ॥

[91] R. 3595 colophon:

इति श्रीमदृषिगौरीनन्दन श्रीभवदास पितृव्यशङ्करपूज्यपादशिष्यपरमेश्वरकृतौ स्वदितङ्करण्याम् ।

V. Rajarajavarma Raja explained (*KSSC*. I, p. 459) 'भवदासपितृव्य' as 'uncle of Bhavadāsa'; but quotation from *Sumanoramaṇī* makes it clear that Bhavadāsa was Parameśvara's uncle.

[92] *ALB*, IX, pp. 5ff.

[93] Introduction to *Tattvabindu*, p. 88.

[94] See *Tattvabindu* (Annamalai University), p. 76:

एतत्प्रसङ्गस्तु न्यायसमुच्चये द्रष्टव्यम् ।

[95] Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *ALB*, IX, pp. 5-7.

to his credit. He says that he is the grandson of Parameśvara who commented on the *Nyāyakaṇikā*, that he is the son of Ṛṣi and Gopālikā, and that he was taught by his uncles Bhavadāsa. Subrahmaṇya, Vāsudeva and Śaṅkara.[96]

Parameśvara II has written commentaries on some of the standard works on Pūrvamīmāṃsā: (1) *Gopālikā*,[97] commentary on the *Sphoṭasiddhi*, (2) *Tattvavibhāvanā*,[98] commentary on the *Tattvabindu* of Vācaspatimiśra, (3) a commentary on Cidānanda's *Nītitattvāvirbhāva*[99] and (4) a commentary on Maṇḍanamiśra's *Vibhramaviveka*.[100] Of these the commentary on the *Vibhramaviveka* is the earliest, and is mentioned in the next work *Tattvavibhāvanā*. The commentary on the *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* is his third work; in that,[101] as well as in the last work *Gopālikā*,[102] he refers to *Tattvavibhāvanā*. All these four great works are referred to by

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[96] *See Nītitattvāvirbhāva-vyākhyā* (Adyar, XXXIX. A. 8):

"यो न्यायकणिकाव्याख्यामकरोत् परमेश्वरः ।
तस्य पौत्रेण तत्सूनोरेवान्तेवासिना मया ॥"

"इति गोपालिकासूनुः ऋषेः पितुरनुग्रहात् ।
अन्तेवासी पितृव्यस्य भवदासस्य धीमतः ॥"

"इति व्याख्यापयामास कार्यवादमिमं सुधीः ।
सुब्रह्मण्यो यथार्थाख्यो भ्रातुरेव च सूनुना ॥"

"कायवाङ्मनसां सम्यक् प्रह्वीभावेन शङ्करे ।
अन्यथाख्यातिवादेपि स व्याख्यातुं समुद्यतः ॥"

"एवं स्वतःप्रमावादं व्याख्यद्गोपालिकासुतः ।
वासुदेवपितृव्योक्तरीत्या केवलयैव तु ॥"

[97] Edited by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Madras University, 1931.

[98] Edited by V. A. Ramasvami Sastri, Annamalai University.

[99] *AL*. XXXIX, A. 8; R. 3590; R. 4302 TC 420.

[100] Manuscripts are not available. It is mentioned in *Tattvavibhāvanā*:
अस्माभिरेव विभ्रमविवेकव्याख्यायां तदुक्तसंक्षेपो दर्शित इति न प्रक्रम्यते ॥

[101] *AL*. XXXIX, A. 8; p. 55:
यथा च पदवद् वाक्येपि लक्षणासंभवः तथोक्तं तत्वविभावनायामास्माभिः ।

[102] *Sphoṭasiddhi*, p. 266:

तत्वबिन्दोः कृता येन व्याख्या तत्वविभावना ।
तेनेयं रचिता व्याख्या नाम्ना गोपालिका स्मृता ॥

Parameśvara II's grandson Parameśvara III in the *Jaiminīyasūtrārthasaṅgraha.*[103]

Parameśvara's commentaries are not only supplementary to the text, but are also helpful in understanding the difficult language of the original texts. He explains the misleading parts of the text, and sometimes shows how to dissolve difficult compounds also. In his *Tattvavibhāvanā* he gives a succinct summary in verse of the discussions at the end of each section.

About the paternal uncles of Parameśvara II we know very little. K. Rama Pisharoti says[104] that Parameśvara I had eight sons, and that possibly "a Nārāyaṇa might have been the brother of Ṛṣi II". It cannot be so, for Vāsudeva II, brother of Parameśvara II, says that his father had only four brothers:[105]

श्रुतिकृतमज्जनकायः स्वान्तगुचतुरनुजसन्नमज्जनकाय (?) ।

Three of them are referred to as uncles by Parameśvara II, and the fourth uncle may be Śaṅkara who is also mentioned by him. From the testimony given by Parameśvara II it is clear that they were very great scholars in Mīmāṁsā.

Parameśvara II makes obeisance to the Deities Gaṇapati, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva of the Vaṭakkunnātha temple at Trichur.[106] Hence it is quite possible that Parameśvara II had something to do with Trichur. Perhaps he had his education at the Naṭuvil Maṭham there.

Parameśvara II had a brother named Vāsudeva II, who was not only a good scholar, but also a wellknown poet. In many of his works he says[107] that he is the son of Gopālikā and Ṛṣi II, nephew of Bhavadāsa, and brother of Parameśvara II. Vāsudeva has many scholarly Yamaka poems to his credit: *Devīcarita, Acyutalīlā, Satyatapaḥkathā* and *Śivodaya.*[108] The *Devīcarita* is a Yamaka poem in six Āśvāsas describing the story of Goddess Gopālikā, the family Deity of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas. The *Acyutalīlā* is also a Yamaka poem dealing with the *Bhāgavata;* in four Āśvāsas it describes the life of Kṛṣṇa. The *Satyatapaḥkathodaya* is partly of a historical nature, and will be valuable in reconstructing the history of the Payyūr family; but the use of the Yamaka throughout has made these verses so difficult to understand that they lose much of their value. It relates the story of Satyatapas, also called Maharṣi, said to have been one of the ancestors of the author; in three Āśvasas it describes the penance of Satyatapas at Vedāraṇya, and on the banks of the river Nilā. *Śivodaya* is a short poem in two Āśvāsas dealing with God Śiva and His consort installed in the temple at Vedāraṇya. Besides these there are two other poems: *Vākyāvali*[109] and *Kaumārilayuktimālā* or *Kaumārilatilakam,*[110] where poetry is mixed with scientific subjects. The former narrates the story of Kṛṣṇa in four cantos in which each verse begins with a *vākya* of Vararuci, used in Kerala for the calculation of the exact position of the moon. In the latter the substance of Kumārila's *Tantravārttika* is summarized in metrical form, at the same time giving the *vākyas* of Vararuci at the beginning of each verse as in the *Vākyāvalī* itself.

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[103] *TSS.* No. 156, p. 49:

तथा च तत्रभवन्तः षड्दर्शनीपारदृश्वत्वे सत्यपि विशेषतः कौमारिलतन्त्रस्वातन्त्र्यवत्तया विवृततत्वाविर्भावितत्वबिन्दुस्फोटसिद्धयोऽस्मत्पितामहपादाः विभ्रमविवेकव्याख्यायाम् ।

[104] *BRVI*, IX, p. 38f.

[105] In the Yamaka poem *Śivodaya.*

[106] See Introduction to *Sphoṭasiddhi*, p. xii:

"गणेशस्य प्रसादेन वृषक्षेत्रनिवासिनः ।
कल्पनापोढवादस्य व्याख्या तावत् कृता मया ॥"
"अभिवन्द्य हृषीकेशं वृषक्षेत्रनिवासिनम् ।
व्याख्यानं क्रियते योगरूढिवादेऽपि शक्तितः ॥"
"अथ नत्वा महादेवं वृषग्रामनिवासिनम् ।
कर्म प्रत्यक्षवादस्य व्याख्या प्रस्तूयते मया ॥"

(Vṛṣakṣetra is Trichur).

Apart from these the *Cakorasandeśa*[111] is also generally attributed to this Vāsudeva. In this poem a love message is sent by the heroine from Chidambaram (Vyāghrapura) to the hero who has gone to Vedāraṇya on a pilgrimage. The reference to Vedāraṇya and the Deity there suggests that the author is a member of the

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[107] V. Rajarajavarma attributed it to Vāsudeva I (*KSSC*, I, p. 462) See also C. Kunhan Raja, Introduction to *Haricarita*, p. xviii.

"अपि विशदागोपाल्यै मात्रे स्वस्त्यस्तु मे सदा गोपाल्यै ।" *Śivodaya.*

"जातो गोपालीतः स वासुदेवोयमद्य .... ।" *Acyutalīlā.*

"इति .... महर्षि गोपालीनन्दनकृति कौमारिलयुक्तिमाला ।" *Kaumārilayuktimālā.*

[108] All these Yamaka poems are found together in R. 3060 and R. 3607. The description in the Catalogue that *Śivodaya* gives the history of the author and his eight brothers is wrong.

[109] R. 4204. Brief notes are given at the end of each stanza.

[110] R. 3060e; R. 3607e. The latter calls it *Kaumārilatilaka.*

[111] R. 3607f. See Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *JORM.*, XV, pp. 13ff.

Payyūr family. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has suggested[112] that the poem may be a work of Parameśvara I, author of *Haricarita*, and that it must be of an earlier date than the fifteenth century A.D.

Parameśvara II had a son named Ṛṣi III. He married Āryā, and had a son named Parameśvara III. This Parameśvara is the author of the *Jaiminīyasūtrārthasaṅgraha.*[113] In this work he says that he is the grandson of Parameśvara, author of the *Gopālikā*, *Tattvavibhāvanā* etc., the son of Ṛṣi and Āryā, and that he studied under Vāsudeva. He also says that his father Ṛṣi III was also known by another name *Traividyeśa.*[114]

There is a commentary on the *Kāśikā* of Sucaritamiśra[115] by one Parameśvara. It was generally supposed to be by the author of the *Jaiminīyasūtrārthasaṅgraha;* but Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai says that it does not come up to that standard, and that there is no reference to any of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas in the work; he suggests that this work could be assigned to the father of Ṛṣi I, whose name could have been Parameśvara. This commentary quotes from *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* (c. 1300 A.D.).

We have seen at least six generations of scholars in the Payyūr Bhaṭṭa family. Who among these were the nine gems that adorned the court of Mānavikrama, the Great? The references to the members of that family by Uddaṇḍa Śāstri and Kākkaśśeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa have already been noted; there is another verse in praise of Maharṣi, which is attributed to Uddaṇḍa:

पय्यूराढ्य महर्षे कवितामार्गे च कालिदासं त्वाम् ।
दाने च कल्पवृक्षं सर्वज्ञत्वे च चन्द्रखण्डधरम् ॥

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[112] *loc. cit.*

[113] *TSS*, 156. Vide supra. Also

" इष्टानिष्टप्राप्तिहान्योर्जागरूका भवन्तु नः ।
ऋषयः पितरो देवाः सर्वदार्याश्च मातरः ॥"
" भाष्यवार्तिकतद्व्याख्याद्युक्तसूत्रार्थसङ्ग्रहः ।
पितुर्मातुः पितृव्यस्य प्रसादात् प्रविलिख्यते ॥"

[114] *TSS*. 156, p. 348:
इति त्रैविद्येशापरनामधेय श्रीमहर्षिपुत्रपरमेश्वरविरचिते सूत्रार्थसङ्ग्रहे तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

[115] T. 337 of the Travancore University. See Introduction, *TSS*, 156, p. 28.

V. Rajarajavarma Raja[116] and K. V. Krishna Ayyar[117] have identified Ṛṣi III with the Maharṣi mentioned by Uddaṇḍa and Kākkaśśeri; Ullur S. Parameśvara Iyer,[118] K. Rama Pisharoti[119] and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri[120] identify Ṛṣi II with the Maharṣi. Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai[121] has taken the view that Ṛṣi I must be identified with Maharṣi. It is also quite probable that there were many other Ṛṣis and Parameśvaras in that great family.

From the statement of Parameśvara III we know that it was Ṛṣi III who had the title *Traividyeśa;* we also know that Uddaṇḍa Śāstri has referred to Maharṣi by the term *Traividyeśa.* Hence it is clear that it was Ṛṣi III and his son Parameśvara III who were contemporaneous with Uddaṇḍa, Kākkaśśeri and Mānavikrama.

We have already seen that Parameśvara I criticizes very sharply the *Vidyullatā* of Pūrṇasarasvati and must have been a younger contemporary of that versatile scholar. Since Pūrṇasarasvati quotes Citsukha who flourished between 1220 and 1284 A.D.[122] he cannot be earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. Hence the earliest date we can give to Parameśvara I is the middle of the fourteenth century. Therefore the date of Ṛṣi III and his son Parameśvara III as well as of Mānavikrama and others, has to be at least the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.

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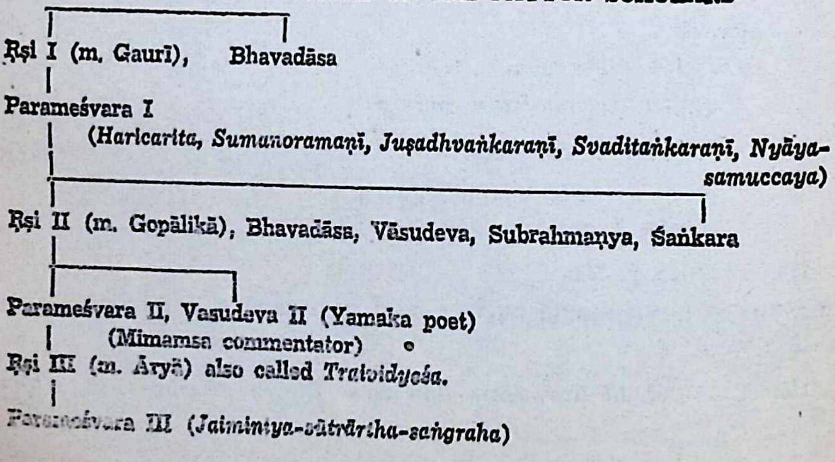
[116] *KSSC*, I, p. 473.
[117] *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 299.
[118] *KSC*, II, p. 26.
[119] *BRVI*, IX, p. 28.
[120] Introduction to *Sphoṭasiddhi*.
[121] Introduction, *TSS.*, 156, pp. 17ff.
[122] P. K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Literary History*, I, p. 229.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PAYYŪR SCHOLARS


Ṛṣi I (m. Gaurī),
Bhavadāsa
Parameśvara I
(Haricarita, Sumanoramaṇī, Juṣadhvaṅkaraṇī, Svaditaṅkaraṇī, Nyāya-samuccaya)
Ṛṣi II (m. Gopālikā), Bhavadāsa, Vāsudeva, Subrahmaṇya, Śaṅkara
Parameśvara II, Vasudeva II (Yamaka poet)
(Mimamsa commentator)
Ṛṣi III (m. Āryā) also called Traividyeśa.
Parameśvara III (Jaiminīya-sūtrārtha-saṅgraha)

CHAPTER V

MĀNAVEDA AND LATER ZAMORINS OF KOZHIKODE

The glorious tradition of contribution to Sanskrit literature started by Mānavikrama in the fifteenth century A.D. was continued by the later Zamorins. Many scholars and poets flourished in the land under their patronage; some of the members of the Zamorin's royal family were themselves great scholars who made original contribution to Sanskrit literature. Mānaveda, author of the *Kṛṣṇagīti* and the *Pūrvabhāratacampū*, is the most important among the later Zamorins.

(i) *Mānaveda*

Mānaveda was the nephew of Mānavikrama who was the Zamorin from 1637 till November 28, 1648.[1] In the *Pūrvabhāratacampū* completed in 1643 A.D.,[2] Mānaveda refers to his uncle as the reigning monarch of the land.[3] At the death of Mānaveda's uncle, another Mānavikrama, known as Tiruvoṇam Tirunāl Śaktan Tampurān, became the Zamorin and ruled over the country till August 28, 1655 A.D., when he died at Trichur and was succeeded by Mānaveda. Mānaveda's reign witnessed many important events in Cochin State.[4] At the instigation of the Portuguese the Mūtta

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[1] K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 215.

[2] In verse 15 is given the chronogram *pāpodyallālasoyạm* giving the Kali date 1733111 equivalent to 1643 A.D.

[3]

"विश्वामित्राधिकानन्ददविपुलभुजाविक्रमो विक्रमाख्यो
राजा रामाभिरामो जगदवनकलालालसो लालसीति ॥"

(verse 13)

"स्वस्रीयोऽस्य खलु क्षमावलरिपोः श्रीमानवेदाभिधः"

(verse 16)

See also

"विक्रान्ताक्रान्तविश्वद्विषत इह गुरोर्विक्रमाख्यस्य राज्ञः
स्वस्रीयो मानवेदो—"

(*Kṛṣṇagīti*).

[4] For a detailed account see *Paṭapāṭṭu*. According to this the Raja of Maṇakkulam was killed in the battle at Trichur. See also *Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 215f.

Tāvaḷi Prince, the rightful claimant to the throne of Cochin, was driven out of the country. He sought the help of the Raja of Maṇakkulam. There was a battle in which the Prince was defeated and his ally, the Raja of Maṇakkulam, killed. The Prince now appealed to Mānaveda for help. The Zamorin who was a friend of the Raja of Maṇakkulam prepared for war. But he did not live to conduct the campaign. He died at Trichur on February 15, 1658 A.D., and was succeeded by Aśvati Tirunāl Mānaveda (1658-1662 A.D.). It was this second Mānaveda who defeated the king of Cochin and destroyed the power of the Portuguese, with the help of the Dutch, and reinstated the Mūtta Tāvaḷi Prince on the throne of Cochin.

About Mānaveda's early life we know very little. There is a story that it was to show his scholarship in Sanskrit grammar to his preceptor Kṛṣṇa Piṣāroṭi of Ānāyattu family, that he composed the *Pūrvabhāratacampū.* Mānaveda was a great devotee of Viṣṇu, and he used to spend a part of his time at the temple of Guruvāyūr. In his works he praises the Deity of that temple.[5] There is a story connecting Mānaveda with a Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār who was a pious devotee of Viṣṇu and who could visualize the Deity in his mystic trance. It is said that with the help of this sage Mānaveda was able to see god Kṛṣṇa playing as a boy; the king tried to touch Him, but the boy evaded him; when Mānaveda was about to embrace Him, the boy suddenly disappeared leaving behind a peacock feather. Mānaveda took that feather and got it fixed to the crown to be worn by the actor playing the role of Kṛṣṇa in Kṛṣṇan-āṭṭam, the performance of the Kṛṣṇagīti on the stage. It is said that this divine crown was destroyed, later, in a fire accident. Melputtūr Nārāyanabhaṭṭa also refers[6] to one Vṛndāvanavāsin, who was a sage claiming to see god Kṛṣṇa in person, and who gave some *Upadeśa* to King Devanārāyaṇa of

[5]

"भ्राजिष्णुर्गुरुवायुमन्दिरविरोचिष्णुः स विष्णुः स्वयं .... ।"

(Kṛṣṇagīti 2)

"अत्यन्तोल्लसितं विभूषणगणैरुल्लाघतोल्लासकं
दीनानां गुरुमारुतालयगतं त्रैलोक्यभाग्याङ्कुरम् ।"

(Pūrvabhāratacampū 7)

[6] In *Prakriyāsarvasva:*

"यो वृन्दावनवासिनो नियमिनः साक्षात्कृताधोक्षजाद्
दुष्प्राप खलु नारदाद् ध्रुव इव प्रापोपदेशं परम् ।"

Ampalappuḷa. This Vṛndāvanavāsin seems to be identical with the Vilvamaṅgalam of the above story.

Mānaveda was not only a scholar and poet; he was also a patron of letters. Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was quite probably a friend of Mānaveda; we know that both were great devotees of the Deity of the temple at Guruvāyūr. It was at Mānaveda's instance that Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita of Brahmakkala completed the *Mānameyodaya* left unfinished by Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. It is likely that on hearing about the death of Melputtūr and also about the fate of that great Mīmāṁsā work of his Mānaveda wanted to get that completed. He found another Mīmāṁsā scholar in Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, and requested him to complete that work.

Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita refers[7] to Mānaveda as his patron, and describes him as a powerful ruler, and as a well known scholar in Nāṭaka, Tarka and Kāvya, as well, as in the system of Patañjali. The second half of the *Mānameyodaya* was completed when Mānaveda was the Zamorin of Calicut, i.e., between 1655 and 1658 A.D.

Pūrvabhāratacampū and the *Kṛṣṇagīti*[8] are the two known works of Mānaveda. The former, in eight Stabakas, describes the early history of the lunar dynasty, and is intended as a supplement to the *Bhāratacampū* of Anantabhaṭṭa. It is full of rare and difficult grammatical usages, and seems to corroborate the story that it was written with the purpose of showing his grammatical skill to his teacher Kṛṣṇa Piṣāroṭi. It was composed in 1643, as is clear from the Kali date referred to in the text by the chronogram *Pāpodyallālasoyam.* The *Kṛṣṇagīti* describes the story of Kṛṣṇa's life in eight cantos composed on the model of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda.* It contains verses as well as musical portions and is intended to be enacted. The performance is called *Kṛṣṇan-āṭṭam.*

[7]

यत्कीर्तिर्नहि हन्त माति महती ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदरे
यस्याज्ञां प्रणतैः शिरोभिरनिशं धत्ते नृपाणां गणः ।
सोऽयं नाटकतर्ककाव्यनिपुणः प्रख्यातपातञ्जलो
भक्तश्चाक्रिणि मानवेदनृपतिर्जागर्ति पृथ्वीतले ॥

(*Meya* portion of *Mānameyodaya*)

[8] A portion of the *Pūrvabhāratacampū* was published in the Kerala Granthamala Series. in 1907. The *Kṛṣṇagīti* was published from the Mangalodayam Press, Trichur.

It became very popular throughout Kerala, not only because of the royal support, but also because of its intrinsic merit. There is a story that the *Kathakali* was modelled on the *Kṛṣṇan-āṭṭam.* Even now it is staged annually in Guruvāyūr temple. Mānaveda wrote the *Kṛṣṇagīti* in 1652 A.D. represented by the chronogram *Grāhyā stutir gāthikaiḥ* referring to the Kali date, which is given in the text itself. Even at that time Mānaveda was only a prince. Perhaps when he became the Zamorin he was able to give more publicity to it.

In both these works Mānaveda refers with respect to his preceptor Kṛṣṇa Piṣāroti,[9] probably of the Ānāyattu family. He seems to be identical with Kṛṣṇa, who was the teacher of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.

There is a commentary on the *Pūrvabhāratacampū* by one Kṛṣṇa who is generally identified with Mānaveda's teacher. Kṛṣṇa says[10] that he is the student of Rāma and that he is writing this *Kṛṣṇīya* commentary at the instance of the Zamorin. There is an anonymous *Campūsaṁkṣepa* summarising the Campū in 12 cantos.[11] On the *Kṛṣṇagīti* there are two commentaries: the *Hlādinī*[12] of Anantanārāyaṇa and the *Vipañcikā*[13] of Citrabhānu. Anantanārāyaṇa was patronized by the Zamorin named Mānavikrama who is well known as 'Brahmacārin' (1815-1825 A.D.);[14] he seems to be different from the author of the *Śṛṅgārasarvasva Bhāṇa*.[15] The *Vipañcikā* was written under the patronage of a Zamorin who is referred to as Rājarāja. We do not know whether this Citrabhānu is identical with the author of the *Trisargī* or *Śabdārthadīpikā* commentary on the *Kirāṭārjunīya*[16] He cannot be the author of *Karaṇāmṛta* written in 1530 A. D.[17]

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[9]

"अघविहतिकराणां कृष्णनाम्नां गुरूणा-
मनवरतमपाङ्गप्रावृषेण्याम्बुवाहः ।
प्रविसरदनुकम्पावारिसम्भारसान्द्रो
मम हृदयमयूरं नर्तयेदात्तमोदम् ॥"

Campū, verse 5.

"कृष्णो गुरुर्मे परमतममतोद्भासको बोभवीतु ।"

Kṛṣṇgīti.

[10]

चम्पुभारतसूक्ष्मार्थदर्पणं वालदर्पणम् ।
टिप्पणं रामशिष्यो हि कृष्णो विलिखति क्रमात् ॥

[11] *KSC*, III, p. 16.

[12] R. 2740.

[13] R. 5274:

"मानवेदकृतेर्व्याख्या कृष्णगीतेर्विपञ्चिका ।
राजराजनियोगेन रच्यते चित्रभानुना ॥"

(ii) *Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita*

Among the scholars patronized by Mānaveda, Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita is the most important. He is well known not only as the author of the latter part of the *Mānameyodaya*,[18] but also as the commentator of the *Raghuvaṁśa*[19] and the *Kumārasaṁbhava*.[20] From the verses given at the end of the commentary on each canto of the *Kumārasaṁbhava* we know that he is the author of the following works. *Govindāṅgaguṇaughavarṇana*,[21] *Mānameyodaya*,

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14. *KSC*, III, p. 15f; *KSSC*, III; p. 93f.

ख्यातेन ब्रह्मचर्यायतिमहितगुणैर्विक्रमाख्येन राज्ञा ।
नाम्नास्याः कृष्णगीतेः कुरु विवृतिमिति प्रेरितः प्रक्रमेऽहं
यावत् प्रज्ञाविकासं सहृदयसुगमां ह्लादिनीं नाम टीकाम् ॥'

It was written in 1830 A.D., according to one MS. available at Calicut, (*KSSC*, III, p. 294).

15. *NCC* takes them to be one. See I. 132.

16. *TSS*.

17. *TC*, 663a. The date is given by the Kali chronogram:

' बुध्योन्मध्योद्धृतं यत्नात् '

This shows that the author of *Karaṇāmṛta* was earlier than of Mānaveda. The author of the drama *Yaduvīrodaya* says that he is Śaṅkara, a descendent of Citrabhānu who commented on the *Kirātārjunīya* (*KSC*, II, p. 274f).

18. *TSS*, 19; edited with English translation and notes by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1933.

19. Cantos 1-6 published from The Mangalodayam Ltd., Trichur. The later portion is being published in the Ravivarma Granthavali, Trippunittura. *TC*, 1507 is a complete MS. of the work.

20. *TSS*, 27, 32, 36.

21. Prof. V. R. Ramasvami Sastri (Int. to *Āśleṣāśataka*, JT, II-1, p. iii) takes objection to the view that Nārāyaṇa wrote a Stotra work on Govinda. He says that "the obvious meaning of the expression" "गोविन्दाङ्गगुणौघवर्णनविधौ दक्षस्य ।" is 'of one who is an adept in singing the glories of Govinda' and

Śrīmāsotsava campū, *Āśleṣāśataka* and other poems, *Bhāgavata Prabandha*, *Nṛsiṁha campū*, *Vaidehīnavasaṅga campū*, and *Śarvāṇīcaritastuti*.[22] Besides these he is also the author of the *Padārthadīpikā* commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Vivaraṇa* commentary on the *Kumārasambhava*. The same introductory verse is found in both these commentaries,[23] there is reference to the Deity of the temple at Brahmakkala,[24] and the name of the commentator is given as Nārāyaṇa, disciple of Kṛṣṇa.[25] Of these works only the commentaries on *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasambhava*, the *Meya* portion of *Mānameyodaya*, and the *Āśleṣāśataka* are now available. Even from these we can have a fair idea about the author.

Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita belonged to the Brahmin village Brahmakkala, a few miles to the southeast of the famous Guruvāyūr temple. He pays homage to God Śiva, the Deity of the temple there in both the commentries, and there is a tradition which makes him a native of Brahmakkala.[26] In the *Vivaraṇa* commentary he has also

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that any other interpretation is far-fetched. But a comparison with the other verses shows that here also some work is suggested. No such work is now available.

[22] K. V. Sarma, JT, III-3. The printed edition does not contain this reference.

[23]

षट्पदमुखरितगण्डं कोटीरभरावबद्धशशिखण्डम् ।
प्रणमत वारणतुण्डं पदकमलप्रणतसकलसुरषण्डम् ॥

[24]

भाति ब्रह्मखले काचित् करुणा शरणार्थिनाम् ।
भवनाशकरी गौरीकुचकुङ्कुमपङ्किला ॥

Padārthadīpikā.

भाति ब्रह्मखलालये शशिकलाजुम्भज्जटावल्लरी
भक्ताभीष्टविधानकल्पलतिका काचित् कृपावल्लरी ॥

Vivaraṇa

[25] See the colophons:

"श्रीकृष्णशिष्यस्य नारायणस्य कृतौ कुमारसंभवविवरणे अष्टमः सर्गः ।"
"श्रीकृष्णशिष्यस्य नारायणस्य कृतौ रघुवंशव्याख्यायां पदार्थदीपिकायां तृतीयः सर्गः ।"

[26] *Vide supra.* There is no conclusive proof to show that he was a native of Brahmakkala. (Int. to *Āśleṣāśataka*, JT, II-i, p. ivf.). See also K. Narayana Pisharoti, *SPT*, VIII, p. 102.

praised the Deities Nṛsiṁha of Puraśreṇivipina,[27] and Śiva of Bālamandanilaya (Cerumannam).[28] Perhaps the reference to God Narasiṁha in the *Padārthadīpikā*[29] is to this Deity.

Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita was the son of Nīlakaṇṭha and Kālī, and had a brother named Kumāra.[30] His father was an erudite scholar, and his mother was the daughter of Puruṣottama of Śvetagrāmavana (vellūrkkāṭ) who was a well known poet of that time.[31] His maternal uncle was Subrahmaṇya, a scholar in Mīṁāṁsā, under whom Nārāyaṇa studied the *Kāśikā* of Sucaritamiśra.[32] Later

[27] सुरारातेर्वक्षःकुहररुधिरक्षोदकपिशैः
स्वतः श्वेतैः सन्ध्याकपिशशशिखण्डांशुसदृशैः ।
नखोद्योतैः भक्तप्रकरहृदयध्वान्तभिदुरा
दया काचिद्दिव्या विलसति पुरश्रेणिविपिने ॥

[28] अङ्गे तुङ्गशशाङ्कशङ्खधवलं कोटीरभारे परे
बालादित्यकराङ्कुरप्रतिभटं कण्ठे घनश्यामलम् ।
सत्त्वादीनपि बिभ्रतं त्रिजगतां रक्षादिसिद्ध्यै गुणान्
आवद्धाञ्जलि बालमन्दनिलयं मारारिमाराधये ॥

[29] पान्तु वो नरसिंहस्य नखा बालेन्दुकोमलाः ।
दैत्यवर्गतमस्तोमविदारणसुदारुणाः ॥

[30] "माता काली पिता वा पदनतिविबुधो नीलकण्ठश्च यस्य
भ्राता तु श्रीकुमारः स खलु ....' *Vivaraṇa.*

[31] श्वेतग्रामवनाह्वये मुररिपोरारामभूते वरे
ग्रामे यः पुरुषोत्तमः समुदभूत् ख्यातः कवीनां पदे ।
पुत्र्यास्तस्य सुतः स्वमातुलमुखादापीतकौमारत-
न्त्राम्भोधिप्रभवामृतो रचितवानेतत् स नारायणः ॥ *Vivaraṇa.*

[32] सुब्रह्मण्यादधीताः क्षितिविबुधपतेः काशिकातर्कमार्गा
रामाचार्यच्च पश्चात् सकलमधिगतं येन कौमारतन्त्रम् ।
कृष्णात् काव्यार्थमीमांसकपरिवृढतः काव्यमार्गावगन्ता
सोऽहं नारायणाख्यो व्यलिखदखिललोकोपहासार्थमेतत् ॥
Mānameyodaya.

[The term *Kāśikātarkamārga* means "the logical methods of *Kaśikā*"; the reference is to Sucaritamiśra's work, and not to the grammatical work of the same name. (See *JT*, II-1, p. vi n.)].

यः ख्यातः पुरुषोत्तमस्त्रिजगति प्रज्ञाकवित्वादिभिः
पुत्र्यास्तस्य सुतस्तदीयतनयात् कौमारतन्त्राम्बुधेः ।
सुब्रह्मण्य इति त्रिलोकविदितादापीतशास्त्रामृतः
सोऽहं पूरितवानिदं प्रकरणं नाम्ना च नारायणः ॥ *Mānameyodaya.*

Nārāyaṇa had further studies in Mīmāṁsā under Rāmācārya. Kṛṣṇa was his teacher in Kāvyas; in the commentaries of Kālidāsa's poems he calls himself the disciple of Kṛṣṇa.[33] We know that Mānaveda's teacher was also one Kṛṣṇa; probably he is identical with Nārāyaṇa's teacher. This Kṛṣṇa is generally considered to be a member of the Ānāyattu family.

At the end of a manuscript of the *Padārthadīpikā* commentary there is a verse[34] which gives the date of birth of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita as 1586 A.D. The *Meya* portion of the *Mānameyodaya* was written when Mānaveda was the Zamorin of Calicut, sometime between 1655 and 1658 A.D.[35] And the commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* must have been written even after that, when he was above seventy. This makes one doubt the genuineness of the verse. Anyhow it is certain that Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita wrote during the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century A.D.

"The *Meya* portion of the *Mānameyodaya* deals with the *Prameyas* or the objects of valid knowledge according to the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṁsakas in an elementary but clear manner, and is a complement to the whole work *Mānameyodaya* projected by Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, who, however, left the *Meya* portion unwritten."[36]

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[33] *Vide supra.* The following verse in *Vivarṇa* contains a reference to his teacher:—

कृष्णो विबुधाधिपतिर्निष्णातो वितरणेषु विद्यायाः ।
मुष्णातु हृदयतिमिरं पुष्णातु च मङ्गलानि सकलानि ॥

[34] *SPT*, VIII-2, p. 102.

" धीधृक् सत्काव्यसृष्टा "विति कलिदिवसे सोमतत्पुत्रसर्पै-
स्सार्धं षष्ठे तुलास्थे सति दिवसकरे वृश्चिकस्थे तु भौमे ।
देवाचार्ये विलग्ने वृषजुषि दनुजानां गुरौ सिंहलीने
मीने लीनेऽर्कपुत्रे सति च विवरणस्यास्य जातः प्रणेता ॥"

[35]

" वेलालङ्घिपयःपयोधिविलसत्कल्लोलतुल्योदयैः
आलापाविषयैर्यशोभिरखिलं लोकं परिष्कुर्वते ।
लीलानिर्जितशात्रवाय च वयं तुभ्यं किमाशास्महे
शैलाब्धीश्वर मानवेदनृपते जीयाः सहस्रं समाः ॥

Mānameyodaya.

[36] *JT*, II-i.

In his commentaries Nārāyaṇa follows Aruṇagirinātha closely. He says[37] that after studying several commentaries he found Aruṇagirinātha's the best. Nārāyaṇa's commentaries are of great help to students, since he explains elaborately all the suggested meanings and difficult problems in a lucid manner.

The *Āśleṣāśataka*[38] is a century of verses about Princess Gaṅgā, called Āśleṣā, as she was born under the asterism Āśleṣā. Probably she was a princess of the Zamorin's family at Calicut; it is also possible that she was Nārāyaṇa's wife. This beautiful poem, written in diverse metres, is addressed to the heroine by the poet who is supposed to be her lover. K. Narayana Pisharoti, and Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer say[39] that the poem was composed after the death of the heroine, and the main sentiment of the poem is *Karuṇa;* but from the text of the poem it appears that the separation was only to be a temporary one for three months, and that the heroine was still alive at the time of writing the poem.[40] The main sentiment must then be love in separation or *Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra.* The poet himself says at the end that it is sweet with the extremely delicate love depicted in it. (अतिललितशृङ्गारमधुर).

About the other works of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita we do not know anything at present.[41] The short Mīmāṁsā tract *Kaumārilamato-*

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[37]

व्याख्यान्तरेषु दृष्टेषु विमृष्टेष्वपि तत्त्वतः ।
सुभगः शिवदासोक्तो मार्ग एवानुगम्यते ॥

Vivarṇa I, p. 3.

[38] *JT*, I & II. About the name of the heroine, see verses 2 and 61:—

"गङ्गां संप्राप्य कान्तां ...."
"गङ्गेति प्रथिता"

[39] *SPT*, VIII-2; *KSC*, III, 23f. See also V. A. Ramasvami Sastri, "Introduction to *Āśleṣāśataka*", p. x. (He says that "a settled opinion regarding this matter is not possible").

[40] See verses 80, 85, etc.

"मासांस्त्रीनतिवाहयेत् प्रियतमे दीर्घान् यथार्थं जनः ।"
"पत्रं ते मृदुनाकरेण दयिते क्लृप्ताक्षरं ... ।"
"आलिङ्गन् कथमप्युदारवचने नेष्यामि मासानिमान् ॥"

[41] A. G. Warriyar (*IHQ*, VI, p. 93) attributes a Nyāya work called *Tamovāda*, and a poem *Govindacarita* to this poet; and identifies him with the commentator on *Uttararāmacarita*. There is no support for these views.

panyāsa, dealing with the elements of the Bhāṭṭa system, seems to have been written by this Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.[42]

(iii) *Rudradāsa*

Rudradāsa, author of the *Candralekhā Saṭṭaka* or the *Mānavedacarita*,[43] was a protege of a Zamorin of Calicut named Mānaveda. The hero of this Prakrit drama is Mānaveda himself. We do not know definitely whether this Mānaveda is identical with the author of the *Kṛṣṇagīti*. M. Krishnamachariar identifies them;[44] but according to K. V. Krishna Ayyar[45] Rudradāsa's patron is to be identified with Aśvati Tirunāl Mānaveda (1658-1662 A.D.) who succeeded the author of *Kṛṣṇagīti*.

Rudradāsa belonged to the Vāriyar community in Kerala,[46] whose hereditary occupation is temple service which consists of sweeping the temple premises and making flower garlands to the Deity. The Vāriyars were also devoted to literary persuit. Rudradāsa refers to both these aspects of their work.[47]

Rudra was the student of Rudra and Śrīkaṇṭha, both belonging to the same community.[48] Rudra is a very common name among the Vāriyars of Kerala, and there have been several Mānavedas in the Zamorin's family in Calicut. Hence it is very difficult to identify Rudradasa and his patron Mānaveda. The Vāriyars of the Desamaṅgalam family on the banks of the Bhāratappuḻa are the hereditary tutors of the royal family at Calicut; hence it may be assumed that Rudradāsa was a member of this family. Dr. A. N. Upadhye says[49] that Śrīkaṇṭha, one of the teachers of the dramatist, is probably the same as the author of the Prakrit poem *Soricaritta* in which he mentions one Rudra as his fellow student.

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[42] Dr. P. K. Narayana Pilla, Introduction to *Jaiminīya Sūtrārtha Sangraha*, *TSS*, 156.

[43] Edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Bharatiya Vidya Series, No. 6, Bombay, 1945.

[44] *HCSL*, p. 256.

[45] *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 308.

[46] Rudradāsa calls himself a member of the *Pāraśava* community; Dr. Upadhye (*loc. cit.*) quotes *Manusmṛti* and other works to show that by *Pāraśava* is meant the son of a Brahmin by a Śūdra woman. In Kerala, with its matrilinial system, there are many Śūdras with Brahmin father, but they are not Vāriyars. Perhaps the origin of the Vāriyar community may be like that; but now they are a separate community, and belong to the Ampalavāsi group.

[47] Prologue:

"देवमन्दिरवाह्यालिन्दसम्मार्जनव्यापारमात्रपारीणात् पारशवपशोः ... "

"न खलु निन्दनीयास्तत्र भवन्तः पारशवाः । यतः
येषां ब्राह्मणलोकपादयुगलीशुश्रूषणं भूषणं
येषां निर्मलकाव्यचर्वणकथासंशीलनं क्रीडनम् ।"

[48] "तस्य रुद्रस्य श्रीकण्ठस्य च शिष्यो रुद्रदासाभिधेयः किल तस्य कविः ।"

The *Candralekhā* is an excellent Prakrit drama belonging to the Saṭṭaka type. It is also known as *Mānavedacarita* and *Mānavedasaṭṭaka.* In four acts called *Yavanikas* it deals with the story of the love between Mānaveda, king of Calicut[50] and Candralekhā, daughter of the king of Aṅgas. During the spring season one day Mānaveda receives a miraculous jewel *cintāmaṇi* as a gift from King Sindhunātha. To test its potency to fulfil any desire, the Vidūṣaka entreats it to bring before them the most beautiful girl on earth. Immediately Candralekhā is brought to their presence. The queen welcomes her as a noble born girl, but does not recognize that she is really her own cousin. The king falls in love with her at first sight; the princess also feels a warm attachment towards him. They meet in the plantain arbour. The queen comes to know about it, and becomes jealous. Later she keeps Candralekhā in chains. Meanwhile Candraketu, brother of Candralekhā, comes to Mānaveda's court with the distressing news of the sudden disappearance of his sister. The queen is anxious and appeals to her husband to help her. Mānaveda prays to the jewel to bring back the queen's cousin. To the happy surprise of all, the most lovely girl Candralekhā herself is brought in front of them as the queen's cousin. The queen consents to the marriage, and Mānaveda is wedded to Candralekhā.

Rudradāsa had, of course, Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* before him as the model for his drama. He follows Rājaśekhara not only in the general structure of the theme and the arrangement of the scenes, but also in some ideas and expressions. By the introduction of the *cintāmaṇi* jewel he has ennobled the character of the queen, who is made not to recognize the heroine as her cousin till the end of the story. Rudradāsa shows more self-restraint than Rājaśekhara in depicting the sentiment of love. This may be due to the fact that whereas Rājaśekhara wrote his drama for the enjoyment of his wife, Rudradāsa has his patron Mānaveda himself as the hero of the drama. Elaborate descriptions, highly decked prose passages full of long compounds, verses in long metres and the want of action make the work more a dramatic poem than a real drama. The self-restraint of a rigorously trained scholar can be seen throughout and sometimes it stands in the way of emotional outbursts and sharp and brisk conversations which one expects in a drama.[51]

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[49] *op. cit.*, p. 65. This view is against his own statement in the Introduction to *Soricarita* (*JBU*, XII-2, pp. 47, 62) that its author Śrīkaṇṭha is identical with the preceptor of Rāghava who commented on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. None of these identities is proved. Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer (*KSC*, III, p. 30) is inclined to identify the author of the Saṭṭaka with Rudra mentioned by Śrīkaṇṭha in his commentary on *Śiśupālavadha* as one of his ancestors.

[50] See verse 15, Act I: तम्बचूडक्कोडं घोलंत
Tāmracūḍakroḍa is the Sanskrit term for Koḻikode (Calicut). Dr. Upadhye has not taken the correct reading.

The importance of the *Candralekhā* lies not merely in its literary excellence; in the study of the *Saṭṭaka* type of dramas and in the study of the Prakrit language also it will be of great value.

(iv) *Śrīkaṇṭha*

Śrīkaṇṭha, author of the *Raghūdaya*, also flourished under the patronage of a Zamorin of Calicut. From the introductory portion of the poem we learn that Śrīkaṇṭha was a member of the Vāriyar community, that he lived in a house adjacent to the palace of the Zamorin and a little to the north-east of it, and that he was pupil of his own uncle Śaṅkara.[52]

The *Raghūdaya* is an artificial alliterative poem describing the story of Rāma in eight cantos composed on the model of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. At the beginning of the poem Śrīkaṇṭha refers to a

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[51] See *HCSL*, p. 180f, 535-9; Dr. A. N. Upadhye, *The Soricaritta, JBU*, XII-2, p. 50; A. Govinda Warriyar, *Glimpses of the History of Art in Malabar, QJMS*, XIX, p. 223.

[52]

सोऽजनि नासन्नायां द्युतिमत्यब्धीशपत्तनासन्नायाम् ।
शिवदिशि नासन्नाया न्यायादपि यत्र बुधजनासन्नायाम् ॥
पारशवान्वयमानः ख्यातो योऽष्टाङ्गवान् वयमानः ।
गुणविभवान्वयमानस्पृशच्छ्रियः शङ्करोऽपि वान्वयमानः ॥
मेषजवस्त्वसुरस्य श्रीकण्ठः शिष्य उद्भवः स्वसुरस्य ।

Yamaka poet named Ravideva.[53] There is a commentary on the *Raghūdaya* by Rudramiśra, also a Vāriyar, who was a disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha.[54] Rudramiśra says that his commentary is based on the explanations given to him by the author himself.[55] It is quite probable that Rudramiśra is identical with the commentator on the *Soricaritta*,[56] the Yamaka poem in Prakrit by Śrīkaṇṭha generally identified with the author of the *Raghūdaya.*

From the *Bālabodhinī* commentary on the *Śiśupālavadha* by one Śrīkaṇṭha Vāriyar of Desamaṅgalam family, it is known that the original house of the Deśamaṅgalam family was situated near Tripraṅgoṭ on the banks of the Bhāratappuḻa, and that their native village was called Deśamaṅgalam. The members of the family were the hereditary teachers of the Zamorins of Calicut. This famous house of Vāriyars was a college for the teaching of literature. An ancestor of Śrīkaṇṭha was Rudra. There were two scholars in that family named Śrīkaṇṭha; the younger of them had a son also named Śrīkaṇṭha. The author of the commentary was the son of this Śrīkaṇṭha. At the request of Brahmins he had also commented on the *Catuṣṭayādi granthas* (?) Here four Śrīkaṇṭhas are mentioned; it is quite possible that one of them is the author of the *Raghūdaya* and *Soricaritta.*[57]

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[53] तत्सारविदेवाय न्याये यमके नमोऽस्तु रविदेवाय ।”

[54] R. 2977; *KSSC*, I, p. 181.

[55] श्रुतं कविमुखादेव यदर्थं ब्रमहे वयम् ।

[56] *JBU*, XII-2, pp. 47-62.

The commentator says:—

श्रीकण्ठरचितं काव्यं तच्छौरिचरिताह्वयम् ।
व्याख्यास्येऽहं सयमकं प्रौढप्राकृतभाषयोः ॥

[57] R. 2732, etc.

पारे दक्षिणगङ्गमस्ति महितः स्वस्तिप्रदो देहिनां
देशः कोऽपि शशाङ्कमौलिरमणीसान्निध्यनित्योज्ज्वलः ।
वैतानाग्निविलोलधूमपटलीसौगन्धिनैरन्तरै-
र्मङ्गल्यो जयसिंहमङ्गल इति क्षोणीसुरैराश्रितः ॥
विद्यते तत्र साहित्यविद्याभ्यासखल्लूरिका ।
विश्वपारशवेन्द्रस्य विश्रुतं भवनोत्तमम् ॥
पारम्पर्येण जायन्ते ये तत्र सुकृतोदयात् ।
आचार्या एव ते सर्वे केरलक्ष्माजुषां नृणाम् ॥

(v) *Divākara*

Divākara, son of Udbāhusundara, wrote the drama named *Lakṣmīmānaveda*[58] under the patronage of a Mānaveda of Calicut. In five acts this drama describes the story of the marriage of Rājalakṣmī with Mānaveda, Zamorin of Calicut.[59] This Mānaveda is described as camping on the banks of Karimpuḷa; it is also said that he was the brother of Mānavikrama.[60] While describing the greatness of his patron, the poet does not refer to the literary qualities; this suggests that Divākara's patron is different from the author of he *Kṛṣṇagīti*. In the prologue of the play it is stated that the poet Divākara belonged to the Cola country.[61]

रुद्राभिधाना तत्रासीत् भारत्याः पुरुषाकृतिः ।
... ... ॥
परस्परोपमौ शान्तौ तद्वंशे सार्वलौकिकौ ।
श्रीकण्ठाख्यावुभौ जातौ साहित्यैकपरायणौ ॥
अथात्मना सुसंवृद्ध देवश्चन्द्रार्धशेखरः ।
श्रीपरक्कोडवास्तव्यस्तत्कुलं वीक्ष्य हृष्टवान् ॥
स तत्र जन्मलाभाय कुतुकी परमेश्वरः ।
श्रीकण्ठात् पितृतुल्याज्ञो द्वितीयादुदभूत् स्वयम् ॥
आ बाल्यात् प्रभृति श्रीमान् साहित्यसुरपादपः ।
अतिगम्भीरवाग्गुम्भसुभगं भावुको बभौ ॥
किं तु वक्ष्ये ततो जातस्तन्नामाहं सतां मतः ।
... . ॥
गुरोर्नियोगाद्याज्यानां शश्वत्प्रार्थनयापि च ।
चतुष्टयादिग्रन्थानां व्याख्या बह्वयः कृता मया ॥

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[58] R. 4319.

[59] See the following portion from the prologue:

अस्ति खलु ... चोलेषु श्रीवल्लभेन स्थापितो महानग्रहारः । तत्र वसतां ... ब्राह्मणानामतिशयेन प्रशस्तस्य उद्वाहुसुन्दरस्याङ्गभूत आमुष्यायणो .... विजयते दिवाकरो नाम । तेन च धीरोदात्तस्य मानवेदस्य महीपतेश्चरितमुपादाय ....

'कृतं किमपि नाटकं भरतभाग्यनाडिन्धमम् ।

[60] "मानविक्रमस्यानुजन्मनो नीलापगापुरीमहाराजस्य मानवेदस्य"
Reading noted by Ullur (*KSC*, III, p. 26).

[61] E. V. Raman Nambutiri (Introduction to *Tantrasamuccaya* with Malayalam Commentary, Part III, Travancore University Malayalam Series, No. 68, pp. 111f.) identifies this Mānaveda with the successor of Mānavikrama, the Great. His attempt to correct the reading *coleṣu* in the prologue to *Keraleṣu* is not supported by any manuscript.

(vi) *Śṛṅgāravilāsa*

Sāmbaśiva, author of the *Śṛṅgāravilāsa,*[62] was a Tamil Brahmin patronized by a Zamorin named Mānavikrama. He was the son of Kanakasabhāpati of Śrīvatsa gotra and belonged to the village of Gopālasamudra. His teacher was Svāmi Dīkṣita, son of Āpaduddhāraṇa, belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra. Sāmbaśiva says that he wrote the drama to please the audience in the court of Mānavikrama.[63] It is a one act play belonging to the Bhāṇa type. The last verse of the work shows that it was composed when the Zamorins were still the rulers of the country;[64] the exact date of the work is not known. Mānavikrama referred to in the work seems to be much later than the patron of Uddaṇḍa Śāstri.[65]

(vii) *Anantanārāyaṇa*

Anantanārāyaṇa of Bhāradvāja gotra who belonged to a village called Coravana in the Pāṇḍya country and who was the nephew and disciple of Varadarāja Śāstri of Kauśika gotra enjoyed the patronage of a Zamorin of Calicut named Mānavikrama and a king of Cochin named Rāmavarman. His *Śṛṅgārasarvasva*[66] is a one act play of the Bhāṇa type composed to be enacted at Tirunāvāya on the occasion of the Māmāṅka festival there presided over by his patron Mānavikrama; in the prologue to the play he says that it was the fame of the Zamorin's munificent patronage of literature that attracted him to Kerala.[67] He wrote a commentary on the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* named *Haribhaktikāmadhenu*[68] at the instance of the king Rāmavarman who is described as having his capital at Trichur. The reference to the Māmāṅka festival in the Bhāṇa shows that its date must be earlier than 1743 A.D., when the last Māmāṅka was held. Hence the author cannot be identified[69] with Anantanārāyaṇa who wrote the *Hlādinī*[70] commentary on the *Kṛṣṇagīti* at the instance of Mānavikrama of Calicut (1815-1825 A.D.) who was known as Brahmacārin.

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[62] R. 3340.

[63] श्रीगोपालसमुद्रग्रामे मृदुसूक्तिमल्लिकारामे ।
कनकसभापतिविद्वज्ज्येष्ठसुतो यस्तु कीर्तिमान् लोके ॥
श्रीमान् यस्य गुरुर्विद्वदापदुद्धारणात्मजः ।
भारद्वाजकुलोत्तंसः स्वामी शास्त्री बुधाग्रणीः ॥
श्रीवत्सगोत्रकलशांबुधिपूर्णचन्द्रो
विज्ञातसर्वकविबन्धविचित्ररीतिः ।
सत्साहितीजननभूरिह दाक्षिणात्यः
सोऽयं चकांस्ति खलु साम्बशिवः कवीन्द्रः ॥

तेन महाकविना रचितं शृङ्गारविलासं नाम भाणमभिनयद्भिरस्माभिर्नितरामापाद्यत एवं श्रीमानविक्रममहाराजविद्वत्सामाजिकहृदयानन्दः ।

[64] "श्रीमान् शैलपयोधिराड् विजयतां भूमण्डलाखण्डलः ।"

[65] M. Krishnamachariar (*HCSL*, p. 250) identifies them.

[66] R. 5137, 5329.

(viii) *Manoramā*

Manoramā Tampurāṭṭi[71] was a member of the Kiḷakke Kovilakam of the Zamorin's royal family and was born in 1760 A.D. under the asterism Svātī. She studied under Rudra Vāriyar of the Deśamangalam family[72] and became a great scholar in Sanskrit grammar. It is said that she got the name Manoramā because of her mastery of the *Praudhamanoramā*.[73] It was she who taught Sanskrit grammar to Ārūr Mādhavan Aṭitiri, author of the *Uttaranaiṣadha*, who refers to her with great respect in that poem.[74] Tradition ascribes the following verse about her to Mādhava:[75]

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[67] See prologue:
मानविक्रममहीपालस्य माघमहोत्सवयात्रायां....नावाक्षेत्रवास्तव्योऽहमाज्ञप्तोऽस्मि । अस्ति पाण्ड्यदेशालङ्कारं चोरवनं नाम नगरम् । तत्रत्यः सर्वतन्त्रपारीणो अनन्तनारायणो नाम महाकविः प्रतिसंवत्सरं महाराजमानविक्रमवैदुषीतरतमभावज्ञतागुणाकृष्टस्तद्दर्शनार्थमागच्छति ॥

Also the colophon:
इति कौशिककुलतिलकषडदर्शनीपारगवरदराजशास्त्रिकरुणारससंवर्धितप्रज्ञाकन्दलेन तद्भागिनेयेन भारद्वाजकुलजलधिकौस्तुभेन अनन्तनारायणसूरिणा विरचितम् ।

[68] *TC* 1115. See the colophon there:

अस्ति वृषालयसंज्ञं केरलभूमेरकृत्रिमं तिलकम् ।
यत्र महः शशिचूडं घटयति भजतामसमर्त्यतासाम्यम् ॥
तत्रास्ति रामवर्मा धरणिद्युमणिर्महान् हि राजमणिः ।
हृदयेन लाल्यते यः कविभिर्धनिभिः परैश्च विद्वद्भिः ॥
राज्ञस्तस्य नियोगतो मधुरिपोर्नाम्नां सहस्रं महत्
भारद्वाजकुलेन्दुरेष सुमतिः सोऽनन्तनारायणः ।
श्लोकैस्तन्निरचोचत् .... ॥

[69] NCC takes the author of the *Bhāṇa* as identical with the commentator on *Kṛṣṇagīti*, and different from the commentator on *Viṣṇusahasranāma.*

[70] R. 2740, *KSC*, III, p. 15f.

[71] On Manoramā, see Introduction to *Bālarāmabharata*; K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 310; Ūllur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC*, III, pp. 46ff.

[72] This Rudra is the commentator on *Prakriyāsarvasva.*

> यस्या निष्क्रमं विरहे जनानां करोति "कौमुद्य"पि तापभारम् ।
> सुरूपरूपैरुपलालितायां मनोरमायां रमते मनो मे ॥

Her first husband was Rāmavarman, a prince of Bepur palace; a few years after his death she married an illiterate Brahmin, Pākkattu Bhaṭṭatiri, about whom she is said to have complained:

> यस्य षष्ठी चतुर्थी च विहस्य च विहाय च ।
> अहं कथं द्वितीया स्याद्; द्वितीया स्यामहं कथम् ॥

When Malabar was invaded by Tippu Sultan, she took shelter in Travancore. Kārtika Tirunāl Mahārāja treated her as a royal guest; she was accommodated first at Kunnattūr and then at Eṇṇakkāṭ. When Tippu left Kerala, she went back to Malabar and stayed at Kottakkal. She passed away in 1828 A.D.

Manoramā is not known to have written any work; but the few verses that are attributed to her by tradition shows that she was a good poet with a graceful style. It is said that during her stay at Travancore the princess and the king exchanged many a verse of mutual admiration. Some of them may be given here:

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[73] See the verses about her in the poem *Mānavikramīya* (q. KSC, III, p. 464).

> तदीयवंशे जातासीत् कापि कन्या मनोहरा ।
> विद्यादिगुणसम्पन्ना हृद्यास्यजितचन्द्रमाः ॥
> मनोरमायामतिमात्रनैपुणान्मनोरमत्वान्नु निजस्य वर्ष्मणः ।
> मनोजलीलारसलोलमानसा मनोरमेति प्रथिता बभूव सा ॥

[74] *Uttaranaiṣadha* (*DC* 11455):

> "यं विद्यार्थिनमर्थपोषमपुषद्राज्ञी पुरोमन्दिर-
> क्ष्माभृत्सिन्धुपवंशभूः सुविदुषी विद्युत्प्रकाशा भुवि ।"

[75] The following verse is also said to have been written by the princess about him:

> स्त्रीपुंसत्वावलम्बी जगति खलु नृणां द्वन्द्वधर्मभिलाषो
> रागः सोपाधिकोऽसावपि विभवसुखैरङ्गकैः षड्भिरङ्गी ।
> तेष्वेकस्यैकदेशेऽसति निजविषयं प्रेममान्द्यं प्रमादाद्
> योषादोषं मृषा यः कथयति विदुषे हन्त तस्मै नमोऽस्तु ॥

King:—

हेमाम्भोजिनि राजहंसनिवहैरास्वाद्यमानासवे
भृङ्गोऽहं नवमञ्जरीकृतपदस्त्वामेव किञ्चिद् ब्रुवे ।
चेतो मे भवदीयपुष्पमकरन्दास्वादने सस्पृहं
वाच्यावाच्यविचारमार्गविमुखो लोकेषु कामी जनः ॥

Manoramā:—

धीमन् सद्गुणवारिधे तव मनोवृत्तिर्महाकोविदै-
र्दुर्ज्ञेया स्वत एव लोलहृदयैर्नारीजनैः किं पुनः ।
त्वत्सन्देशमिदं किमर्थमिति नो निश्चिन्महे क्रीडितुं
किं वा साम्प्रतमस्मदीयहृदयज्ञानाय हासाय वा ।

King:—

हासाय नैव दयिते भवदीयचित्त-
ज्ञानाय नैव यदिदं वचनं मयोक्तम् ।
जम्भारिकुम्भिवरकुम्भविजृम्भमाण-
डम्भापहारिकुचसंपरिरम्भणाय ॥

Manoramā:—

धीमन् मनीषितमिदं तव राजमौले
कुर्यं यथानिगदितं न कुलाङ्गनास्मि ।
प्रायेण संप्रति जनाः परिहासशीला-
स्तत्कातरास्मि नितरां न परोत्र दोषः ॥

(ix) *Mānaveda*

Mānaveda, well known as the Erālppāḍ (First Prince), who wrote the *Vilāsinī*[76] commentary on the *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa lived in the beginning of the nineteenth century. He has also written a commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇacampū*[77] of Bhoja. He says that he is the student of Raṅganātha; he also refers to two of his friends, Rudra and Śekhara, probably belonging to the Vāriyar community, who assisted him in commenting on the works.[78] It is known that this Mānaveda died in 1840 A.D.[79] The late Govinda Pilla's statement[80] that he had seen a manuscript of the *Vilāsinī* commentary dated 1560 A.D. cannot be accepted as correct; for the commentary contains references to many later works and authors.

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[76] This has been published in the grantha script from Kalpatti in 1890 and from Palghat in 1891.

Bhavadāsa, a Nambūtiri Brahmin belonging to the family of Cīrakkuḷi (*vāstukanimna*) and a native of Sāgarapurakṣetra (?), wrote a commentary called *Padayojana*[81] on the eleventh Skandha of the *Bhāgavata* on the basis of Śrīdhara's commentary. He says that he is the student of Puruṣottama and Aruṇagiri, and that the commentary is written at the instance of Uttrāṭam Tirunāl Lakṣmī Tampurāṭṭi of Kiḻakke Kovilakam in Calicut, who is the sister of the Zamorin, Vīrarāya.[82] This princess Lakṣmī cannot be identified with the princess Manoramā.

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[77] R. 2802. This contains reference to the *Vilāsinī* commentary; Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer's statement that Mānaveda has not written a commentary on Bhoja's Campū (*KSC*, III, p. 33) is not correct.

[78]

श्रीरङ्गनाथकरुणामसृणावलोक-
लीलासमुल्लसदुरुश्रुतकाव्यसारः ।
व्याख्यामिमां रचितवान् स तु मानवेदः
किं दुष्करं गुरुकृपावरदेवतानाम् ॥
क्ष्माभृत्पाथोधिनाथान्वयमहितकुलप्राप्तमव्याजचन्द्रः
सातीर्थ्यं यस्य लेभे श्रुतसरणिविदां शेखरः शेखरश्च ।
सोऽहं सन्देशसिन्धुं कथमपि सरसं साधु निर्मथ्य ताभ्या-
मर्थास्वादं चिरेणाप्यलभत विबुधाग्रेसरो मानवेदः ॥

(*Vilāsinī*)

सन्देशार्थविलासिनीसहभवा वाला विलासिन्यसौ
सच्छास्त्रान्वयवृत्तिमण्डनगुणं श्रीभोजराण्णन्दनम् ।
चम्पुं प्राप वरं कथञ्चन चिरान्मन्दाक्षमन्दं यतो
नानार्थनिधिगम्य सन्तु सततं सन्तोषवन्तो बुधाः ॥

(R. 2802)

[79] *KSSC*, I, p. 347.

[80] *Bhāṣācaritram*, I-2, p. 18f.

[81] R. 2465.

Bhāskara of Mutukkuriśśi family near Shornore wrote the *Śṛṅgāraketulīlācarita*, well known as *Mutukkuriśśi Bhāṇa*,[83] under the patronage of a Zamorin of Calicut named Mānavikrama. Bhāskara flourished from 1805 to 1837, and wrote the Bhāṇa before he was sixteen years old.[84] He was also patronized by the king of Cochin Vīrakeralavarman (1809-1828).

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[82]

“चन्द्रार्धभरणस्य सागरपुरक्षेत्रेशितुः सन्निधौ
जातं वास्तुकनिम्ननाम्नि भवदासाख्यं द्विजन्मालये ।
आनीतं स्वगुणैर्विकृष्य गिरिसिन्धुक्ष्मापतेः सोदरी
चर्चां भागवतस्य कर्तुमशिषद्राज्ञी कदाचिद् द्विजम् ॥”

See also the colophon:

इति श्रीवीररायसंज्ञमानविक्रमसहोदरायाः पूर्वालयकमललक्ष्म्याः श्रीमदुत्तराषाढजातायाः अभिनवलक्ष्म्या राज्ञ्या आज्ञया स्वाज्ञानध्वान्तचित्रभानुश्रीपुरुषोत्तमपादगुरुभक्तिमता श्रीमदरुणाद्रिगुरुनाथानुशिक्षितेन भगवद्दासेन (भवदासेन) पूरितपदयोजनायाम् .... ।

[83] R. 2719. See prologue:

“ विक्रमभूपतेः लालाटिकैः परिपूर्णया परिषदा सबहुमानं समादिष्टा स्मः ।

[84] See

अम्भोधिगम्भीरमतिरुपषोडशहायनः ।
शृङ्गारलीलानुभवो यस्य प्राग्जन्मनः किल ॥

CHAPTER VI

NĀRĀYAṆABHAṬṬA OF MELPUTTŪR

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa of Melputtūr, the well-known author of the *Nārāyaṇīya*, the *Prakriyāsarvasva* and the first part of the *Mānameyodaya*, is one of the greatest scholar poets that Kerala has produced. It is possible to gather some details about his life from his own statements given in some of his works.

(i) *Early Life*

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was a Nambūtiri Brahmin and belonged to the family of Melputtūr near the Devī temple at Candanakkāvu, about two miles to the north of the famous temple of Viṣṇu at Tirunāvāy on the northern banks of the Bhāratappuḷa. His father was Mātṛdatta, a famous scholar proficient in Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsā, a well-known teacher with several students under him, and a pious and virtuous Brahmin. All this information is given in the following verse at the end of the Nyāya section in *Prakriyāsarvasva:*[1]

भूखण्डे केरलाख्ये सरितमिह निलामुत्तरेणैव नावा-
क्षेत्राद् गव्यूतिमात्रे पुनरुपरिनवग्रामनाम्नि स्वधाम्नि ।
घर्मिष्ठाद् भट्टतन्त्राद्यखिलमतपटोर्मातृदत्तद्विजेन्द्रा-
ज्जातो नारायणाख्यो निरवहदतुलां देवनारायणाज्ञाम् ॥

Mātṛdatta and his students well versed in the Śāstras, as well as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and his poetic works, are praised by a contemporary poet Vāsudeva, while describing Candanakkāvu in his *Bhramarasandeśa* :[2]

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[1] *Uparinavagrāma* is the Sanskritized name for Melpputtūr. *upari* = *mel* (above), *nava* = *putu* (new) and *grāma* = *ūr* (village) in Malayalam. Nilā is the Sanskrit name for Bhāratappuḷa. In the commentary on Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's *Dhātukāvya*, Rāmapāṇivāda has also referred to him as belonging to the family of *Uparinavagrāma:*

श्रीनारायणनामकोपरिनवग्रामस्वधामाभिध-
क्षोणीदेवकविप्रकाण्डरचितं यद्धातुकाव्यं शुभम् ।

This Melpputtūr family is now extinct; it is said that the family got merged into the Maravañceri Tekkeṭattu family.

> हेरम्बेण प्रथितविभवां मातृदत्तद्विजेन्द्र-
> श्रीमच्छिष्योत्करमुखरितैरास्तृतां शास्त्रपाठैः ।
> आरान्नारायणकविवचःस्यन्दमाधुर्यनन्दद्-
> वाणीमन्दस्मितसुरभिलां याहि पाटीरवाटीम् ॥

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa himself says[3] in the introductory portion of the *Prakriyāsarvasva* that his father took a very keen interest in his education, and taught him Mīmāṁsā and other subjects. This is all that we know definitely about Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's father Mātṛdatta.[4]

It seems that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had a younger brother, also named Mātṛdatta, for one of the manuscripts of the *Nārāyaṇīya* says that it was copied by the author's younger brother Mātṛdatta.[5] Mr. Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer[6] tried to identify this Mātṛdatta with the author of the *Bhaktisaṁvardhanaśataka*. But in all the available manuscripts of the work it is assigned to one Brahmadatta. The colophon is :

> भक्तिसंवर्धनं नाम श्लोकानां शतकं मया ।
> ब्रह्मदत्ताभिधानेन विष्णुप्रीत्यै विनिर्मितम् ॥[7]

And there is no evidence to show that the author of the *Bhaktisaṁvardhanaśataka* was Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's brother.

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[2] Also known as *Bhṛṅga Sandeśa.* T.S.S. 128, verse, 89. *Pāṭīravāṭī* is the Sanskritized form of *Candanakkāvu.*

[3] " मीमांसादि स्वतातात्..."

[4] It has been suggested that this Mātṛdatta is identical with the author of the *Kāmasandeśa.* See Mr. Venkatasubramonia Iyer, 'Mātṛdatta', *Summary of Papers submitted to the All India Oriental Conference,* Lucknow Session.

[5] T.P. 1173:

> इत्थं भागवतस्तोत्रं स्वाग्रजेन विनिर्मितम् ।
> व्यलिखन्मातृदत्ताख्यो भगवद्भक्तिपूर्तये ॥

[6] *KSC.,* II, p. 394.

[7] T.C. 1107, Adyar Library Ms. etc. See also the printed text, *TSS.*

According to the popular traditions in Kerala, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's mother was a sister of the famous Payyūr Bhaṭṭas who were patronized by Mānavikrama, the Great, of Calicut.[8] We cannot accept this story, because King Mānavikrama lived much earlier in the 15th century, and therefore Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa who flourishd in the 17th century could not have been a direct nephew of Mānavikrama's contemporaries. We do not know whether Nārayaṇabhaṭṭa's mother came from the Payyūr family.

According to the popular stories[9] Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was an irresponsible lad and was leading a lazy and wayward life in his youth. It is said that he married the niece of Acyuta Pisāroṭi of Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr. The story goes that one day he got up very late and that, while rushing out of the room, he stepped over the sacred plank on which Acyuta Piṣāroṭi had arranged the *cowries* for the calculation of the exact positions of the sun and the moon. Acyuta, who was trying to find an apt chronogram for the Kali date, asked him to give a suitable chronogram to the date; immediately Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa gave it as *Bālakalatram saukhyam.* When Acyuta resented this, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa gave the alternative name *Liṅgavyādhir asahyaḥ.* Acyuta Piṣāroṭi was angry with him for his lack of manners, but he was pleased at his precosity, and admonished him for his un-Brahmanical life. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa then requested him to be his teacher. Acyuta Piṣāroṭi was touched by his sincerity and gladly acceded to his request.

This story cannot be taken seriously, since the Kali date given, 1729133, is more than fifteen years after the date given in his *Prakriyāsarvasva.* A slightly different story is given by Ullur Paramesvara Iyer[10] according to which Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa met Acyuta Piṣāroṭi by chance, and presented to him the following verse requesting him to take him as his student.

मग्नं महामोहमये महाब्धौ मन्दं महात्मन् ममताकुलेन ।
कृपापयोधे मनसोद्धारमुं कृत्वोडुपं ज्ञानमयं प्रपन्नम् ॥

We need not attach any importance to such traditional accounts, many of them being mutually contradictory and against known facts.

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[8] K. Rama Pisharoti, *Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, IHQ,* IX, 22ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, also other works on Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa by Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rajarajavarma Raja, K.V.M., etc.

[10] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭaṭiri,* a Souvenier of Silver Jubilee celebration of the Department of Publication of Oriental Mss. Trivandrum, p. 74.

(ii) *Teachers*

The tradition is emphatic in maintaining that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had only one teacher, namely, Acyuta Piṣāroṭi. The story[11] is that after studying the Kāvyas and Śāstras, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wanted to attain proficiency in the Vedic literature also. Acyuta was a non-Brahmin and could not learn the Vedas, but Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa did not want to have more than one teacher. At last Acyuta yielded to the request of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. The Nambūtiri Brahmins of Kerala refused to co-operate. So Acyuta and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa went to the Cola country in the Tamilnad; there Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa studied the entire Vedic literature from Acyuta Piṣaroṭi, who learned it from a Tamil Brahmin willing to co-operate with them. This absurd story does not stop here. It is said that as a result of learning the Vedas, prohibited to all non-Brahmins, Acyuta Piṣaroṭi became a prey to rheumatism. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa felt that he was responsible for his teacher's illness and wanted it to be transferred to his body. The teacher was cured of his illness and Nārāyanabhaṭṭa became a victim to the same disease. To get rid of this, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa went to the temple of Guruvāyūr, where he spent his time in prayer. The devotional epic *Nārāyaṇīya* was composed here; it was finished in one hundred days, and by that time, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was completely cured of his illness.[12]

This traditional story making Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa an ideal and devoted student of his only teacher Acyuta Piṣāroṭi is entirely against Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's own statement in the *Prakriyāsarvasva*. In the introductory portion to that work he says clearly that he learned Mīmāṁsā, etc., from his father Mātṛdatta, the entire Vedic literature from Mādhavācārya, Tarka from Dāmodara and Vyākaraṇa from Acyuta.

मीमांसादि स्वतातान्निगममविकलं माधवाचार्यवर्यात्
तर्कं दामोदराख्यादपि पदपदवीमच्युतार्याद् बुधेन्द्रात् ।
तेषां कारुण्ययोगात् किमपि च कवितामाप्नुवं वर्म मे तद्
भूयात कृष्णार्पणं, मे भवतु च सततं धीरघारेः कथायाम् ॥

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[11] This story will be found in all the accounts of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

[12] According to one tradition Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa consulted Tuñcat Ezhuttaccan, the famous Malayālam poet, about his disease, and was advised to eat fish: *Mīn toṭṭu kūṭṭuka.* This in Malayalam means also "Begin with the fish". Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa took it in the latter sense and decided to compose songs beginning with the fish incarnation of Viṣṇu, epitomizing the *Bhāgavata.*

This statement also disproves the traditional view that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa began his education very late in life. His father Mātṛdatta was a very great scholar in Mīmāṁsā and had many students under him; naturally he must have taken a keen interest in the education of his son. We do not know anything definitely about Mādhavācārya, Nārāyaṇa's teacher in the Vedic literature; most probably he must have been a Nambūtiri Brahmin;[13] we are equally ignorant about Dāmodara who taught Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa works on logic. Acyuta Piṣaroṭi of Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr, who was his teacher in Vyākaraṇa, was a very great scholar of that time. He was an authority on astronomy and grammar, and it is quite possible that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had a special attachment for him. In the beginning of the *Prakriyāsarvasva* Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa refers to him with great regard;[14] and in the *Bhramarasandeśa* Vāsudeva refers to him as a great scholar in astronomy.[15].

In the beginning of his grammatical work *Praveśaka*,[16] Acyuta Piṣāroṭi refers to his patron, King Ravivarman of Veṭṭattunāḍ:

लक्ष्म्या प्रकाशविषयं राजयन्निजया निजम् ।
नित्यमुद्यन् विजयते सुकृतालम्बनं रविः ॥

(Prakāśaviṣaya = Veṭṭattunāḍ)

We also know that the poet Vāsudeva, author of the poems *Govindacarita*, *Saṁkṣepabhārata*, *Saṁkṣeparāmāyaṇa*, *Kalyāṇanaiṣadha*, and probably the *Śvetāraṇyastuti*[17] was also patronized by a king of Veṭṭattunāḍ named Ravivarman. It is quite likely that these two kings are identical. In that case Acyuta Piṣāroṭi will be a contemporary of Vāsudeva also. This Vāsudeva is generally considered to be different from the author of the grammatical poem *Vāsudevavijaya;* but a careful study of the poem and its commentary written by the author himself, in comparison with the simple poems mentioned above, will make it clear that they are also identical.[18] The introductory verse to the commentary of the *Vāsudevavijaya,* written by the author himself, resembles very closely the introductory verse of the *Govindacarita,*[19] and the verse

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[13] Rama Pisharoti, *op. cit.*, p. 24 n. suggests that Mādhava was a Piṣāroṭi! Only a Brahmin could teach the Vedas.

[14] "अयमच्युतगुरुकृपया... "

[15] *TSS*. 128.

"तस्मात् प्रत्यक् प्रहितनयनः कुण्डगेहाधिनाथं
सर्वज्ञं तं प्रणम गिरिशं भक्तिमानच्युतं च ।
एकस्तावद्वहति शिरसि ज्योतिषामेकमिन्दुं
ज्योतिश्चक्रं निखिलमपरो धारयत्यन्तरज्ञे ॥"

[16] Edited by P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, Cochin Skt. Series, No. 2, Trippunithura, 1938.

[17] R. 76, D. 11838, Adyar XXI-p. 31, R. 2895, R. 2969, R. 2972, R. 3798b. King Ravivarman is mentioned in all these.

कुन्दसूनमनोहारिमन्दहासविराजितम् ।
नन्दगोपकुलोत्तंसमिन्दिरारमणं भजे ॥

occurring in the *Govindacarita* and the *Saṁkṣepabhārata* is found in the commentary on the *Vāsudevavijaya* also. The simplicity of the style in the *Govindacarita* etc. can be due to the fact that they were primarily intended for beginners; a different style is found in the *Vāsudevavijaya* which is intended, to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini. This was left unfinished by Vāsudeva; it is Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa who, later, completed it by writing the *Dhātukāvya.* From the commentary on the *Dhātukāvya* it is known that Vāsudeva, the author of the *Vāsudevavijaya,* belonged to the village of Perumanam. It is possible that Vāsudeva, a native of Perumanam, went to the court of King Ravivarman of Vaṭṭattunāḍ.

Besides the grammatical work *Praveśaka,* Acyuta Piṣāroṭi has also to his credit many important works on astronomy,[20] such as

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[18] See K. Kunjunni Raja, *Authorship of the Vāsudevavijaya,* S.P.T., XIII, part 4.

[19]

विघ्नेशभारतीव्यासगुरुशाब्दिकमूर्तये ।
नमोस्तु पत्ये भूतानां सदानन्दचिदात्मने ॥''

Commentary on *Vāsudevavijaya*

" श्रीमद्विघ्नेशवाग्देवीकार्तिकेयादिमूर्तये ।
नमोस्तु पत्ये भूतानां सदानन्दचिदात्मने ॥''

Govindacarita

[20] See also S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, *Acyuta Piṣāroṭi,* J.O.R.M., 1952-3; K. Venkatesvara Sarma, Introduction to *Rāśigolasphuṭānīti,* A.L.B., 1954, part 2.

Uparāgakriyākrama, Karaṇottama, Sphuṭanirṇaya,[21] *Horāsāroccaya* and *Rāśigolasphuṭāniti.*[22] The Malayalam commentary on Mādhava's *Veṇvāroha* is also by Acyuta;[23] from that we know that Acyuta was also patronized by Āḻuvāñceri Tamprākkal (Netranārāyaṇa). There is a well known verse, attributed to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa by tradition, giving the date of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi's death:

हे शब्दागम निर्दयं विबुधतालुब्धैर्निपीडिष्यसे
धाष्टर्यैकप्रवणासि वैद्यसरणे नष्टो ह्यलङ्कार भोः ।
हन्त ज्योतिषतन्त्र पर्यवसिता तिथ्यृक्षयोस्ते कथा
विद्यात्मा स्वरसर्पदद्य भवतामाधारभूरच्युतः ॥

Here *Vidyātmā svar asarpat* gives the Kali date, which corresponds to 1621 A.D. Hence Acyuta Piṣāroṭi may be assigned to the period A.D. 1550-1621.

The towering personality of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi eclipsed all the other great teachers of the time and the tradition about Acyuta being the one and only teacher of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa grew up in spite of the clear statement of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa himself against it. The traditional story may still contain an element of truth; Nārāyaṇa was, no doubt, a devoted student of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi, who taught him Vyākaraṇa. It is also true that early in his life Nārāyaṇa had an attack of rheumatism. He went to the Guruvāyūr temple and worshipped the Deity there. His famous poem, the *Nārāyaṇīya,* was composed during that time. We find in that work clear references to his disease.[24] Somehow he was cured of his rheumatism, and naturally this was attributed to the divine grace. Nārāyāṇabhaṭṭa and the Deity of the temple at Guruvāyūr became very famous throughout the land as a result of this miraculous cure. In the *Bhramarasandeśa* Vāsudeva refers to Lord Kṛṣṇa of this temple as a dispeller of all rheumatic complaints.[25] The *Cakora-sandeśa,* which is earlier than Nārāyaṇa, also refers to rheumatic patients going to the temple at Guruvāyūr.[26] Even at the present day worship in this temple is considered to be sure remedy for all diseases, especially for rheumatism.

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[21] T.C. 655b, 657c; 697b, 702d; 697c (See also Q.J.M.S., XXI, p. 213).

[22] Edited by K. V. Sarma in A.L.B., 1954-2.

[23] The Malayalam commentary is edited in the Ravi Varma Granthāvali, Trippunithura. (III 1955) Many other works are also attributed to him. See Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *K.S.C.*, II, p. 322f.

[24] See the last verse of 43rd *daśaka:*

"वातोद्भवान् मम गदान् किमु नो धुनोषि ।"

He refers to his disease in general terms at the end of almost all the *daśakas.*

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa completed his *Nārāyaṇīya* on 27th November, 1586, expressed by the chronogram "āyurārogyasaukhyam" denoting the Kali date, which is given at the end of the work. By that work Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa became well known as a great poet and an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu. He was honoured by all, and he received the patronage of all the important kings of the time: Vīra-Keralavarama of Cochin, Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḻa, Godavarma of Vaṭakkuṅkūr and Mānavikrama of Calicut. And he has written verses praising all these royal patrons.[27]

(iii) *Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḻa*

Among the patrons of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḻa, known as Pūrāṭam Tirunāl Mahārāja,[28] was the most important. There are several stories connecting the king with Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. The grammatical work *Prakriyāsarvasva* was composed by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa at the instance of this king. In the introductory portion of that work Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa says that he was drawn to the royal court by the great qualities of the king.[29] Devanārāyaṇa was well-versed in the arts of war and peace, and took a very keen interest in patronizing poets and scholars. He had received a special teaching from a sage who was a native of Vṛndāvana, and who had claimed to have been God Viṣṇu in person.

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[25] Part I, verse 76:

"पावनानामातङ्कानामुपशमयिता—"

[26] R. 3607f. This is usually attributed to a member of the Payyūr family.

[27] *Vide infra.*

[28] So called because he was born under the asterism of Pūrāṭam (Pūrvāṣāḍha). Devanārāyaṇa is the general title of the king of Ampalappuḻa. About this king, see Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, S.P.T., XIII, part 1.

[29]

सोऽथ कदाचन राजा स्वगुणैराकृष्य सन्निधिं नीतम् ।
श्रीमातृदत्तसूनुं नारायणसंज्ञमशिषदवनिसुरम् ॥

The king himself was very keenly desirous of being able to see God Viṣṇu in person.[30] Perhaps this sage from Vṛndāvana, claiming to have seen Viṣṇu, is identical with the Vilvamaṅgalam Svāmiyār whom tradition considers to have been a contemporary and guide of Mānaveda, author of the *Kṛṣṇagīti*; for the story is emphatic that the sage showed Lord Kṛṣṇa to Mānaveda, and that it was this vision that inspired the royal poet to write the poem.[31] He is definitely different from Līlāśuka or Vilvamaṅgala, the author of *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta*.[32]

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa says that the king of Ampalappuḷa, who was a distinguished scholar, felt the defects in the old grammatical works such as the *Kāśikā, Rūpāvatāra* and *Prakriyākaumudī,* and, therefore, ordered Nārāyaṇa to compose a new and original grammatical work named *Prakriyāsarvasva* in twenty sections. The king also gave him definite instructions about the detailed plan of the work.[33]

There is an interesting story about Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's first meeting of the king of Ampalappuḷa. When Nārāyaṇa visited the temple at Ampalappuḷa, the king was informed about the arrival of a learned Brahmin. The king remarked that he was not sure of the Brahmin's capacity to read correctly. The expression "to read correctly" is *Kūṭṭi vāyikkuka* in Malayalam, which may also mean "read adding up new matter". In the afternoon Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was asked to read and explain some portion from Purāṇas.[34] The fight between Bhīmasena and Duryodhana in the *Mahābhārata* was the portion selected for reading. In the course of the reading he read a passage thus:

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[30]

यो वृन्दावनवासिनो नियमिनः साक्षात्कृताधोक्षजाद्
दुष्प्रापं खलु नारदाद् ध्रुव इव प्रापोपदेशं परम् ।
यस्यापास्तसमस्तवस्तुकुतुकं कृष्णावलोकोत्सव-
क्रीडाकौतुकि मानसं विजयते सोऽयं महात्मा नृपः ॥

[31] On this story see K. Rama Pisharoti, *Kṛṣṇas of Kerala, BRVI.*, VI part 2, pp. 69ff. Mānaveda wrote the *Kṛsṇagīti* in 1652, but he might have been influenced by the Vṛṇḍāvanavāsin even earlier.

[32] He is much earlier.

[33]

वृत्तौ चारु न रूपसिद्धिकथना रूपावतारे पुनः
कौमुद्यादिषु चात्र सूत्रमखिलं नास्त्येव तस्मात् त्वया ।
रूपानीतिसमस्तसूत्रसहितं स्पष्टं मितं प्रक्रिया-
सर्वस्वाभिहितं निबन्धनमिदं कार्यं मदुक्ताध्वना ॥

भीमसेनगदात्रस्ता दुर्योधनवरूथिनी ।
शिखा खर्वाटकस्येव कर्णमूलमुपाश्रिता ॥

"Duryodhana's army, frightened by the club of Bhīmasena, approached Karṇa (the hero Karṇa, or the ear), like the hair on the head of a bald man." The king, who was himself a learned man, asked him whether it was a genuine verse from the text. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa quietly remarked that he had added the verse in order to show him that he knew "*Kūṭṭi vāyikkuka*". The king who was bald enjoyed the joke very much. The story goes that it was then that the king knew the greatness of the scholar before him. He requested Bhaṭṭatiri to forgive his former impertinent remark. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa then and there composed the following verse praying for the king's long life.

अव्यञ्जनस्तार्क्ष्यकेतुर्यत् पदं घटयिष्यति ।
तत्ते भवतु कल्पान्तं देवनारायण प्रभो ॥

"O Lord Devanārāyaṇa, may you have, till the Great Deluge, that place which Viṣṇu who has no destruction gives you; (or, that indicated by the word which *Tārkṣyaketuḥ* without the consonants will make, namely, *āyuḥ* or long life."[35]

This Devanārāyaṇa was born in 1566 A.D. and died in 1622 A.D. He is the author of a short work on Philosophy, called *Vedāntaratnamālā*, which is a commentary on the first verse of the *Bhāgavata*.[36] Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, a scholar from Tamilnad, is said to have been patronized by this king.[37] Under his patronage and at his instance Kumāra wrote the well known work on architecture called *Śilparatna*.[38] Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa describes the king in glowing terms.[39]

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[34] See Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, Introduction to *Prakriyāsarvasva*, (Madras University). A slightly different version of the story is also known, according to which the usual Pandit (Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita) who was to read and explain the Purāṇas was absent that day, and the king, finding Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa at the temple, mistook him for an ordinary Brahmin, and asked him if he knew how to read. The rest of the story is the same. (See V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *Melpputtūr Bhaṭṭatiri*).

[35] *Tārkṣyaketuḥ* without consonants is *ā-a-e-uḥ*, which when combined becomes *āyuḥ*.

[36] See the article by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, mentioned above. There is a Ms. note on this work by S. V. Iyer in *JT* IV.

The *Prakriyāsarvasva* was composed in A.D. 1616. Two Kali dates, *yatnaḥ phalaprasūḥ syāt* and *Kṛtarāgarasodya*, representing 1723201 and 1723261 respectively are found in one of the introductory verses of the work. These give the dates January and March of 1616 A.D. It is traditionally believed that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa completed the work in the course of sixty days and that the two dates given here are the dates of commencement and conclusion of the text.[40] But since the verse giving the dates comes in the beginning of the work, it is difficult to consider that as referring to the date of completion of the work also. The previous verse says that he was receiving guidance from the king at every step. Prof. C. Kunhan Raja suggests[41] that the discussion with the king about the general plan of the work might have lasted for sixty days. It is difficult to believe that this voluminous work was completed within a couple of months. The tradition is recorded only in a later commentary;[42] the commentary by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita does not mention any such tradition.

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[37] *Vide infra.*

[38] Ullur, *KSC.*, II, p. 396f.

[39] In the beginning of *Prakriyāsarvasva*:

तिष्ठत्येवानिलोऽपि प्रचरति गिरिरप्याज्ञया यस्य राज्ये
शत्रोः सर्वाभिसारे सति रचयति यस्तस्य सर्वापहारम् ।
सोऽयं निश्शेषशास्त्रश्रुतिनिवहकलानाटकेष्वद्वितीयो
भाति श्रीदेवनारायणधरणिपतिर्मग्नचेता मुकुन्दे ॥

In the *Bhramarasandeśa*, Vāsudeva also praises him (verse 42).

अक्ष्णोर्मार्गे निपतति पुरा राजधानी तदानीं
दुर्गाश्लेषादविदितभया देवनारायणस्य ।
यो मेदिन्यामपि निजकमर्थापयम् नामधेयं
कीर्तिक्षीरार्णवजलमपारं वियाधिशेते ॥

[40] *KSC.*, II, p. 355.

[41] *op. cit.*, p. xvii f.

[42] R. 2710.

“अत्र ‘यत्नः फलप्रसूः स्यात्’ इति ग्रन्थारम्भदिने कलिसंख्या, ‘कृतरागरसोद्ये’ति ग्रन्थनिर्माणावसानदिने च कलिसंख्येत्यवगन्तव्यम् ॥”

(iv) *Date of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*[43]

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa himself has given a large number of dates from which it is possible to have a fair idea about the period in which he flourished.

(*a*) We have seen[44] that he completed the *Nārāyaṇīya* on 27th November 1586, expressed by the chronogram *Āyurārogya-saukhyam* denoting the Kali date 1712210, which is given at the end of the work.

(*b*) The *Prakriyāsarvasva* gives two dates which are equivalent to January and March, 1616 A.D.

(*c*) Acyuta Piṣāroṭi of Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr died in 1621 A.D.[45] And Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is supposed to have composed a verse on his death.

(*d*) According to the popular traditions in Kerala Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has given the date of the flood in the Bhāratappuḷa in the following verse which describes the event:

नदीपुष्टिसह्या नु न ह्यसारं पयोऽजनि ।
निम्नात् कुटीरात् सायाह्ने नष्टार्थाः प्रययुर्जनाः ॥

Here all the four lines give the same date 1821180; in the first and the third lines the number is given from right to left, and in the other two lines the number is given in the reverse order. This date corresponds to about 1611 A.D.

Of these four dates given, the first two are certainly by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa; for the authenticity of the other two we have to depend on tradition. Anyhow it is clear from these that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa flourished during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries A.D.

It is generally believed that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had a long life. According to some scholars[46] he is said to have lived for 106 years from 1560 to 1666 A.D. I have shown elsewhere[47] that this view cannot be accepted fully. There is a tradition that the *Nārāyaṇīya* was completed by the poet at the age of 27. There is a fairly old Granthavari record[48] which gives the date of birth of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa as 1560 A.D., the date of composition of the *Nārāyaṇīya* as 1586 A.D., the date of the flood in Bhāratappuḷa as 1611 A.D. and the date of composition of the *Prakriyāsarvasva* as 1616 A.D.[49] There is nothing in this which cannot be accepted.[50] This Granthavari is silent about the date of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's death.

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[43] On the problem about the date see also K. Kunjunni Raja, *The Date of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa*, POC., Nagpur, 1946, pp. 183 ff.

[44] *Vide supra.*

[45] The verse "हे पच्चागमं etc.," given before.

[46] V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭatiri* (1937), p. 6f.

[47] POC., 1946, pp. 183ff.

In the *History of Malayalam Literature* (Volume II) Mr. R. Narayana Panikkar stated[51] that in a *Granthavari* record of Neṭumpayil Kṛṣṇan Āśān, the dates of birth and death of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa are given as 1560 and 1666 A.D. These were generally accepted as the correct dates. But nothing is known about such a *Granthavari;* Mr. Narayana Panikkar seems to be referring to the *Granthavari* record we have mentioned above.[52] We have already pointed out that this does not give the date of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's death.

The story that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa lived for 106 years is mentioned first by one Neṭumpayil Kṛṣṇan Āśān belonging to the eighteenth century A.D. In the introductory portion to his *Āranmula vilāsam Hamsappāṭṭu,*[53] he mentions a line of disciples of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi in which he himself comes as the fifth. There he refers to Acyuta Piṣāroṭi as the teacher of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa who lived for twice fifty-three years:

"Anpattimūnnu vayassiraṭṭiyirunnulla
Melputtūr Paṭṭerikkum guruvāyulla deham"

This is the only piece of evidence in favour of the view that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa lived for 106 years. Taking this with the *Granthavari* record mentioned above, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is usually placed between 1560 and 1666 A.D. I have already pointed out elsewhere[54] that it is not possible to accept the date of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's death as 1666 A.D. An examination of the internal evidence from the *Mānameyodaya* shows clearly that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have died much earlier.

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[48] Published in the *Mangalodayam* (Trichur) Vol. 5 (1913), p. 265f. About details see also Introduction to *Prakriyāsarvasva*, Part III, p. ix.

[49] The corresponding Malayalam dates given are: date of birth 735 M.E., completion of *Nārāyaṇīya*, 28th Vṛścikam 762; date of the flood, 22nd Mithunam 786; death of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi, 6th Chingam 796, and the date of *Prakriyāsarvasva*, 791.

[50] It does not say that the *Sarvasva* was completed in 60 days.

[51] Page 237 ff.

[52] See also Mr. S. Venkatasubramonia Iyer, Introduction to *Prakriyāsarvasva* (Part III, Trivandrum), p. x.

[53] Published by Śrī Viśākha Rāmavarma smāraka granthaśālā, Kayankulam, 1908.

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written only the first part of the *Mānameyodaya*, even though he wanted to complete the work himself. The introductory verse there shows that it was his intention to write the text in two parts:

मानमेयविभागेन वस्तूनां द्विविधा स्थितिः ।
अतस्तदुभयं ब्रूमः श्रीमत्कौमारिलाध्वना ॥

But somehow he was not able to finish the work. It was later completed by another scholar named Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, a protege of Mānaveda of Calicut, and the famous commentator on the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kumārasambhava*.[55] In the second part of the *Mānameyodaya*, this Nārayaṇa Paṇḍita says that the first part was written by the great Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and that he (Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita) is only completing the unfinished work at the instance of his patron Mānaveda of Calicut.[56] This statement suggests that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had passed away by the time the second part was written at the instance of Mānaveda.

The author of the second part of the *Mānameyodaya* refers to his patron Mānaveda as a great scholar, poet and a devotee of Viṣṇu.[57] From this and from other historical records we know that this Mānaveda is identical with the author of the *Kṛṣṇagīti* and the *Pūrvabhāratacampū,* who was the Zamorin of Calicut from 1655 to 1658 A.D.[58] He is referred to as the ruling monarch of the time by the author of the latter half of the *Mānameyodaya.* Hence it is clear that the *Mānameyodaya* was completed during the period 1655 to 1658 A.D., and that by that time the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was no more. Nobody would have dared to complete a work started by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa during the lifetime of that great scholar. It is quite possible that, on hearing about the death of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and also about the fate of the unfinished Mimāṁsā work of his, Mānaveda, who was a friend and admirer of that scholar, wanted to get it completed; he found another great scholar in Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, and requested him to complete the work.

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[54] *op. cit.*

[55] On this Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita see Introduction to *Aśleṣāśataka*, *JT.*, II, part I. Also pp. 103 ff.

[56]

पृथ्वीक्षत्रजिता नितान्तमहितेनैतेन संचोदितै-
रस्माभिः कृतशेमुषीविलसितैरभ्यासहीनैरपि ।
प्राक् नारायणसूरिणार्धरचितं तन्मानमेयोदयं
मोहात् पूरयितुं कृता मतिरियं सन्तः प्रसीदन्तु नः ॥

[57]

यत्कीर्तिर्नहि माति हन्त महती ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदरे
यत्पादौ प्रणतैः शिरोभिरनिशं धत्ते नृपाणां गणः ।
सोऽयं नाटकसर्गकाव्यनिपुणः प्रज्ञातपातञ्जलो
भक्तश्चक्रिणि मानवेदनृपतिर्जागर्ति पृथ्वीतले

There is a tradition[59] recorded by the late Keralavarma Valiya Koil Tampurān that the famous Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita was so much impressed by the *Prakriyāsarvasva* that he wanted to meet its author Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in person, and that he proceeded to Kerala, but learning on the way about Bhaṭṭatiri's death, turned back saying that it was futile to go there when the great Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was no longer there. This also suggests that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have passed away earlier than 1655 A.D., as Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita himself flourished before that time.[60]

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[58] K. V. Krishna Iyer, *Zamorins of Calicut,* Calicut, 1939, p. 251.

[59] See Introduction to *Nārāyaṇīya* Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 18. The verses by Keralavarma are:

यत्सर्वस्वमुखस्थमङ्गलदलं भट्टोजियज्वा कृती-
प्याकर्ण्याह स केवलोज्ज्वलमशाब्दारम्भयुक्तं पुनः ।
श्रुत्वैवानुपदं तदुत्तरदलं सम्यक् तदूचेऽखिलं
यस्यात्यद्भुतधातुकाव्यमवलोक्यासीद्दिदृक्षुश्च मम् ॥

यद्दीक्षाकुतकोत्तरङ्गहृदयो धीरस्ततः कौमुदी-
कारः केरलमण्डलं प्रति पुनः प्रस्थाय मध्येपथम् ।
श्रुत्वा यस्य परासुतां निववृते यद्दर्शितां तां दिशं
गत्वा किं क्रियतामिति प्रतिहतोत्साहः स्वगेहं प्रति ॥

The first verse refers to the first verse of *Prakriyāsarvasva:*

रासविलासविलोलं भजत मुरारेर्मनोरमं रूपम् ।
प्रकृतिषु यत् प्रत्ययवत् प्रत्येकं गोपिकासु संमिलितम् ॥

At the end of the *Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā* Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa refers to one Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita of Coladeśa who may be identified with the author of *Sāhityaratnākara;* he was the minister of Raghunātha Naik of Tanjore who ruled between 1614 and 1633 A.D. We also know that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was patronised by king Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḷa who flourished between 1566 and 1623 A.D. These facts are not against the view that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have passed away before 1655 A.D.

Neṭumpayil Kṛṣṇan Āśān lived about 200 years after Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa,[61] and therefore, his statement has, at best, only the value of a traditional story. The fact that Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, protege of Mānaveda, completed the *Mānameyodaya* during 1655-8 A.D., shows that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had passed away by that time. Some of the scholars like Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer[62] and V. Rajarajavarma Raja[63] who held the traditional story and were reluctant to accept this view have later accepted it. They try to explain away the statement of Neṭumpayil Kṛṣṇan Āśān by saying that the correct reading of the text might be "*Nālppattimūnnu vayassiraṭṭi*" instead of "*Anpattimūnnu vayassiraṭṭi*" and that, therefore, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have lived only for twice forty-three (i.e., 86) years from 1560 to 1646 A.D.[64] This date is quite probable; but it is difficult to take a doubtful reading in the work of Kṛṣṇan Āśān as authoritative. What we can say definitely is that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have passed away before 1655 A.D. M. Krishnamachariar says[65] that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa lived from 1560 to 1646 A.D.; but he does not give the source of his information.

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[60] See the article on the date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita by P. K. Gode, Annals of S. V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati, 1940, vol. I. part 4.

[61] About the date of Kṛṣṇan Āśān see Dr. K. Sankara Menon, Introduction to *Bhāṣājātakapaddhati*, Trivandrum (1926).

[62] For his changed view see *KSC*, II, p. 357.

[63] In his earlier work on Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa he held the former view; but in the *KSSC*, III, he has accepted my view.

For a criticism of my theory see S. Venkatasubramonia Iyer, *Introduction to Prakriyāsarvasva*, Part III, Trivandrum, (1948), p.x.

[64] V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *op. cit.*

[65] *HCSL*, p. 254.

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is said to have spent his last days at Mūkkola (*Muktisthala*) in Malabar. The poem *Śrīpādasaptati* on the feet of the Goddess there is considered to be his last work.

(v) *Friends of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was very famous even while he was living, and he had many intimate friends and admirers in Kerala as well as outside. For a long time he was well known as a great poet; it was with the *Prakriyāsarvasva* that the fame of Bhaṭṭatiri as a great scholar travelled even outside Kerala.

(*a*) Ravi Nartaka or Iravi Cākyār of Kuṭṭañceri, author of the *Mudrārākṣasakathāsāra,*[66] was a close friend of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa; it was at his request that the latter wrote many of his *Campūkāvyas* (or Prabandhas as they are called). The Cākyār was a professional actor and wanted new and interesting texts for his *Cākyār-kūttu,* and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa supplied him with these. In his *Śūrpaṇakhāpralāpa* or the *Niranunāsikacampū,* which deals with Śūrpaṇakha's complaint to Rāvaṇa about her deformity at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was able to avoid the nasal sounds completely. There is a story that, while Ravi Cākyār was explaining this text in the course of his Kūttu, the use of the word "Bhujā" in the feminine gender in the portion

"हाहा राक्षसराज दुष्परिभवग्रस्तस्य धिक् ते भुजाः"

was explained by him as showing that the hands of Rāvaṇa were devoid of masculinity; this explanation was very much appreciated by the audience. In this Campū, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa himself says that it was composed at the request of Ravi Nartaka.[67]

(*b*) Tradition also makes Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa a contemporary of Pūntānam Nambūtiri, a great devotee of Viṣṇu and the author of the Malayalam works *Santānagopālam* and *Jñānappāna.* While Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was at Guruvāyūr temple composing the *Nārāyaṇīya,* Pūntānam had also come there to worship God. It is said that one day Pūntānam took some of his Malayalam poems to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and requested him to correct them, but was dismissed with the haughty remark that Pūntānam did not know even the correct declension of words. The story goes that God himself intervened by saying that He preferred Pūntānam's *Bhakti* (Devotion) to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's *Vibhakti* (Declensional form *i.e.*, scholarship). This humiliation made Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa conscious of the superiority of devotion to scholarship, and he apologized to Pūntānam. From that time onwards they became friends.

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[66] Published in the Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 6.

[67] For details see, p. 146.

(c) Vāsudeva, author of the *Bhramarasāndeśa,*[68] was an ardent admirer of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa; in the *Sandeśa* Vāsudeva praises Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and his father Mātṛdatta.[69]

(*d*) Bhaṭṭatiri seems to have had some grammatical controversy with some pandits in the Cola country, among whom Vainateya (It must be a pen-name) was the chief. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's short poem *Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā* was a reply to them. His work was sent for approval to one Someśvara Dīkṣita and to Yajñanārāyaṇa Dikṣita of Tanjore.[70]

The various kings of the land at the time were also his patrons; of these King Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḷa is the most important.

(vi) *Works of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written several works on diverse subjects literary as well as scientific.

Among the scientific works the most important is the *Prakriyāsarvasva,* which is an original recast of Pāṇini's *sūtras* divided into twenty sections, with a lucid commentary explaining all the difficult points. It is more original in approach and broader in outlook than Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Siddhāntakaumūdī.* Nārāyanabhaṭṭa is not mere follower of the three great sages, Pāṇini Kātyāyana and Patañjali. He accepted as authorities other great grammarians like Bhoja and Bhartṛhari and poets like Bhavabhūti and Murāri. He wanted grammar only to explain usages in language. Nārāyaṇa uses prose as well as verse in the course of the explanations. This work was composed at the instance of King Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḷa, and from one of the introductory verses it is known that it was written in A.D. 1616[71].

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[68] *TSS*, 128.

[69] *Vide Supra*, p. 120.

[70] See later under "Works". Also E. V. Raman Nambutiri, Introduction to *Āpāṇinīyapramāṇatā*, Trivandrum, 1942.

Three commentaries on the work are known, all of them incomplete. The first[72] is by one Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, grandson of Rāmacandra Dīkṣita, son of Varadeśvara Dīkṣita and Kāmākṣī, student of Jñanendra and Veṅkaṭeśvara, and a younger brother of Sundareśvara Dīkṣita. He belonged to the eighteenth century.[73]

The second incomplete commentary on the work is by Rudra Vāriyar of the Deśamaṅgalam family. He is supposed to have been a teacher of Manoramā, princess of Calicut, who flourished between A.D. 1760 and 1828.[74] So, he may be assigned to the eighteenth century A. D. He refers to Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita's commentary and also to Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa. This commentary is called *Prakāśikā*. The available portion has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.[75] For the remaining portion of the fourth section K. Sambasiva Sastri has added a commentary of his own.[76]

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[71] The first five sections have been published in the *TSS* (Nos. 106, 139 and 153). The fifth section on *Taddhita* has been edited also by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja as No. 15 in the *MUS*. The *Uṇādi* section was edited by the late Dr. T. R. Chintamani as No. 7 (part ii) of the same series.

[72] On this commentary see S. Venkatasubramonia Iyer, *JT*, II, Nos. 2-3; Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC*, II, pp. 386 ff.

[73] See the introductory portion, quoted by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

पदवाक्यप्रमाणानां पारगं विबुधोत्तमम् ।
रामचन्द्रमखीन्द्राख्यपितामहमहं भजे ॥
यदीयस्मरणादेव विन्दतेऽर्थचतुष्टयम् ।
पितरं तमहं वन्दे वरदेश्वरदीक्षितम् ॥
यस्य स्मरणमात्रेण शास्त्रार्थानां पुरास्थितिः ।
जायते तं गुरुं वन्दे ज्ञानेन्द्रं चित्स्वरूपिणम् ॥
सुन्दरेश्वरयज्वानं शेषाशेषार्थवेदिनम् ।
भ्रातरं प्रणमाम्यस्मत्कामाक्षीं जननीमपि ॥
वेङ्कटेश्वरयज्वानं ललिताम्बास्वरूपिणम् ।
भावये हृदये सम्यङ्मदभीष्टार्थसिद्धये ॥
केरलक्षितिपालेषु देवनारायणप्रभुः ।
द्विजराजः सर्वशास्त्रधुरीणोऽस्ति हरिप्रियः ॥
तैः कारितं प्रक्रियायाः सर्वस्वं सकलार्थदम् ।
तद्व्याख्यानं नीलकण्ठदीक्षितेन विरच्यते ॥

[74] See K. V. Krishna Iyer, *Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 310.

Another anonymous commentary for the early portion is found in the Government Manuscripts Library, Madras.[77] This seems to be fairly modern. Here we come across the tradition that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa composed the entire work in an incredibly short period of sixty days.[78]

According to Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer,[79] Mahāmahopādhyāya Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri of Killimaṅgalam, and Kṛṣṇa Vāriyar of Deśamaṅgalam, student of Princess Manoramā, have also composed commentaries on certain portions of the work.[80]

On Mīmāṁsā Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written an important work, the *Mānameyodaya*.[81] As the name suggests, it is an elementary treatise on the Mīmāṁsā system of the Kumārila school elucidating the means of valid knowledge (*Pramāṇas*) and the categories constituting the objective content of valid knowledge (*Prameyas*). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wanted to complete the work in two parts; but somehow he left the work unfinished at the end of the *Māna* section. Perhaps it was his last work and he died before finishing it. It was later completed by another Nārāyaṇa, the famous commentator of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kumārasaṁbhava*.[82] *Mānameyodaya* is one of the best elementary books on the Bhāṭṭa school of Pūrvamīmāṁsā, summarising in an interesting manner the epistemology and metaphysics of Kumārila. "Within a brief compass, in a style which is at once lucid and terse, this work gives an able and well-grounded exposition of the leading tenets of the philosophical system of the Bhāṭṭa school; and adds comparative and critical remarks when required with particular reference to the corresponding tenets of the other systems of Indian philosophical thought, chiefly the Prābhākara, Nyāya, Advaita and Bauddha systems."[83]

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[75] No. 106

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] R. 2710.

[78] *Vide supra.*

[79] *KSC*, II, p. 388.

[80] It is said that Keralavarma wrote a commentary on this work (*Introduction to Nārāyaṇīya*, *TSS*, No. 18). But he only copied the text.

[81] *TSS*, 19 in 1912. It is also edited with an English Translation by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and Prof. S. Suryanarayana Sastri from the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1933.

[82] On this Nārāyaṇa, see Introduction to *Āśleṣāśataka*, *JT*, II, part I; also *Manuscript Notes* by H. G. Narahari, *ALB.*, IX, 101 ff.

Kriyākrama or *Āśvalāyanakriyākrama*[84] is an excellent work dealing with the domestic rituals of the Brahmins belonging to the Āśvalāyana branch of Ṛgvedins. In the introductory verses he praises the deities Viṣṇu and Gaṇapati of the temples at Candanakkāvu, and also Viṣṇu of the temple at Tirunāvāy.

Among Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's literary works the highest place will have to be given to his famous poem *Nārāyaṇīya.*[85] It is a brilliant summary in 1036 verses, divided into one hundred sections called *daśakas* (decads), of the leading incidents narrated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* It is in the form of an address, to God Viṣṇu, the presiding deity at the temple of Guruvāyūr. The melody of the metres, the sweet diction, the lucid exposition of sublime philosophical ideas and, above all, the fervour of intense and sincere faith and devotion pervading throughout, make the poem one of the best devotional lyrics in Sanskrit literature. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is equally at home in the *Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍī* styles of composition, and is able to make the sound seem an echo of the sense. Moreover, even in the selection of metres he is very careful that they should be quite proper to the theme.[86]

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[83] Prof. S. Kuppusvami Sastri, Foreword to the edition by Dr. Kunhan Raja and S. S. Sastri.

[84] Trivandrum Mss. 5611 and 12417; Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer *op. cit.* p. 382.

[85] Being the most popular of his works, it has had several editions. It was published with the *Bhaktapriyā* commentary in 1912 as *TSS*, 18. The text has been published from the Mangalodayam Press, Trichur. A Devanāgari edition with English translation and Notes by P. N. Menon came out from Palghat in 1939. Among the editions in Malayalam, the one in seven volumes from Trivandrum with a voluminous commentary by K. Sambasiva Sastri, the one in three volumes from Bharatavilasam Press, Trichur, with Malayalam commentary, *Śyāmasundaram,* by T. C. Paramesvaran Moosad, and the one in two volumes from Mangalodayam Press, Trichur, with a Malayalam Commentary by P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri and Vatakkunkur Rajarajavarma Raja are important. There is a commentary by Kṛṣṇapurattu Tirumulppāḍu also.

[86] See the sections on *Kāliyamardana* and *Rāsakrīḍā.*

He has used a large number of metres, short as well as long, including many rare but musical ones. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is a master in the art of summarizing long and complicated passages in a lucid style. The whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story is condensed in two *daśakas*; the Sāṅkhya doctrine explained in the fifth *Skandha* of the *Bhāgavata* is summarized in one *daśaka*, and the entire *Gītā* is beautifully put in one stanza[87]. The summary never becomes monotonous or dry.

Even while epitomizing long passages, he is able to use figures of speech, both of sound and of sense.[88] Humorous remarks are strewn here and there.[89] And the sincere prayer of an ardent devotee is seen everywhere.[90] Of the three paths towards the attainment of salvation namely, the *Karmamārga*, the *Jñānamārga* and the *Bhaktimārga*, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa prefers that of Bhakti or devotion; and he advocates that path of devotion as better than the other two.[91] The land of Kerala had been well known for its acceptance of the *Karmamārga*, and it even got the name of *Karmabhūmi*. The great Śaṅkarācārya who hailed from Kerala was a great advocate of the *Jñānamārga*, and through his teaching this path of knowledge had also become popular in the country. But in course of time people became degenerate; the Brahmins performed sacrifices merely for their livelihood; and being proud of their birth and education, they neglected the worship of God. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa condemns such people, and advocates devotion to Viṣṇu as the best way to salvation.[92] In more than one place he has emphasized his partiality towards Viṣṇu; in the ninetieth *daśaka* he points out Viṣṇu's superiority to the other gods like Śiva. He says that even Śaṅkara, the great Advaitin, found consolation in writing commentaries on the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* etc. and in composing Vaiṣṇava hymns.[93]

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[87]

जिष्णोस्त्वं कृष्ण सूतः खलु समरमुखे बन्धुघाते दयालुं
खिन्नं तं वीक्ष्य वीरं "किमिदमयि सखे नित्य एकोयमात्मा ।
को वध्यः कोऽत्र हन्ता, तदिह वधभयं प्रोज्झ्य मय्यर्पितात्मा
धर्म्यं युद्धं चरे"ति प्रकृतिमनयथा दर्शयन् विश्वरूपम् ॥

[88] See for instance the following:

"अरालमार्गागतनिर्मलापां मरालकूजाकृतनर्मलापाम् ।"
"मार्गे मार्गे ममार्गे कपिभिरपि सदा त्वत्प्रियासप्रयासैः ।"
"काचित् कुचे पुनरसज्जितकञ्चुलीका
व्यामोहतः परवधूभिरलक्ष्यमाणा ।
त्वामाययौ निरुपमप्रणयातिभार-
राज्याभिषेकविधये कलशीधरेव ॥"
"केशपाशधृतपिञ्छिकाविततिसञ्चलन्मकरकुण्डलं
हारजालवनमालिकाललितमङ्गरागघनसौरभम् ।
पीतचेलधृतकाञ्चिकाञ्चितमुदञ्चदंशुमणिनूपुरं
रासकेलिपरिभूषितं तव हि रूपमीश कलयामहे ॥"

[89]

विरहेष्वङ्गारमयः शृङ्गारमयश्च सङ्गमे हि त्वम् ।
नितरामङ्गारमयस्तत्र पुनः सङ्गमेऽपि चित्रमिदम् ॥

[90] The last *daśaka* is extremely popular with devotees. It begins:

अग्रे पश्यामि तेजोनिबिडतरकलायावलीलोभनीयं
पीयूषाप्लावितोऽहं तदनु तदुदरे दिव्यकैशोरवेषम् ।
तारुण्यारम्भरम्यं परमसुखरसास्वादरोमाञ्चिताङ्गै-
रावीतं नारदाद्यैर्विलसदुपनिषत्सुन्दरीमण्डलैश्च ॥

The one well-known Sanskrit commentary on the *Nārāyaṇīya* is the *Bhaktapriyā*, which is published from Trivandrum along with the text. This is usually attributed to Rudra Vāriyar of Deśamaṅgalam family; but Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer says[94] that there is no authority for ascribing it to him and that in one copy of the manuscript of the commentary it is attributed to one Vāsudeva.

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[91] निष्कामं नियतस्वधर्मचरणं यत्कर्मयोगाभिधं
तद्दूरेत्यफलं यदौपनिषदज्ञानोपलभ्यं पुनः ।
तत्त्वव्यक्ततया सुदुर्गमतरं चित्तस्य तस्माद्विभो
त्वत्प्रेमात्मकभक्तिरेव सततं स्वादीयसी श्रेयसी ॥

[92] वृत्त्यर्थं ते यजन्तो वहुकथितमपि त्वामनाकर्णयन्तो
दृप्ता विद्याभिजात्यैः किमु न विदधते तादृशं मा कृथा माम् ॥

[93] श्रीशङ्करोऽपि भगवन् सकलेषु तावत्
त्वामेव मानयति यो नहि पक्षपाती ।
त्वन्निष्ठमेव स हि नामसहस्रकादि
व्याख्याद् भवत्स्तुतिपरश्च गतिं प्रपेदे ॥

[94] *KSC.*, II, p. 364. See the verse from the Ms. quoted therein:

सन्दानितात् सरसरीतिपदावलीभि-
र्नारायणीयमणिसंपुटतोऽर्थजातम् ।
श्रीवासुदेवविवृतिक्रमचित्रयन्त्र-
प्रोद्घाटितादुपहरन्तु विमुक्तिमूल्यम् ॥

There is another short devotional lyric poem by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. It is the *Śrīpādasaptati*[95] praising the Goddess enshrined at Mūkkola (Muktisthala), and containing 71 verses in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, all of them describing the greatness of the feet of the Goddess.[96] Though not so popular as the *Nārāyaṇīya*, this is also a lyric of considerable literary merit.[97] This is supposed to be Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's last work.

The *Dhātukāvya*,[98] written by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa as a supplement to the *Vāsudevavijaya* of Vāsudeva, deals with the story of Kṛṣṇa, and illustrates at the same time all verbal roots given in

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[95] Published from the Mangalodayam Press, Trichur, with a commentary by Kunhan Thampuran of Cranganore.

[96] The last verse gives the author's name:

सैषा मुक्तिपुरीगिरीन्द्रतनयाभक्तेन नारायणे-
नावद्धा खलु सप्ततिर्दिशंतु वः कल्याणहल्लोहलम् ॥

[97] The introductory verse of the work is reminiscent of the Nāndī verse in the *Mahiṣamaṅgalam Bhāṇa*.

यत्संवाहनलोभिनः शशिकलाचूडस्य हस्ताम्बुज-
स्पर्शेनापि च लोहितायति मुहुस्त्वत्पादपङ्केरुहम् ।
तेनैवोद्धतकासरासुरशिरःशृङ्गाग्रसंचूर्णन-
प्राचण्ड्यं तदनुष्ठितं किल तथा मुक्तिस्थलस्थे शिवे ॥

(*Śrīpādasaptati*)

केलीकोपदशासु तन्वति नतिं चन्द्रार्धचूडामणौ
क्रीडाचन्द्रकलानुषङ्गकलया यद्दूयते कोमलम् ।
यद्वा कर्कशकासरासुरशिरोनिष्पेषणे निर्दयं
पायाद्वस्तदिदं गिरीन्द्रदुहितुः पादारविन्दद्वयम् ॥

(*Bhāṇa*)

[98] Edited with the commentary called *Kṛṣṇārpaṇa* in Kāvyamālā, X; edited with a commentary from Pattambi, 1897; with notes and an account of the author, Pattambi, 1889.

Bhīmasena's *Dhātupāṭha* and explained in Mādhava's *Dhātuvṛtti.*[99] They are illustrated in the same order. The poem contains 248 verses in three cantos, and illustrates 1948 roots. Two commentaries on the work are well known, *Kṛṣṇārpaṇa* written by some students of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa belonging to Mūkkola,[100] and the *Vivarṇa* by Rāmāpaṇivāda.[101] There are some Malayalam commentaries also.[102]

Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer says[103] that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa composed this poem in the course of three days; but the verses from the *Kṛṣṇārpaṇa* commentary which he quotes in support of this view really mean that the poem is dealing with the story that took place in three days:

त्रिभिर्दिनैः कृतं कर्म त्रिभिः सर्गैश्च कथ्यते ॥
अक्रूरयोगो यात्रादि चापच्छेदान्तचेष्टितम् ।
मल्लोद्योगादि कंसान्तपर्यन्तं च त्र्यहे कृतम् ॥

Besides these Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written a large number of *Campū Kāvyas,* generally known as *Prabandhas,* for the use of the Cākyārs (the professional actors of Kerala) for Kūttu in the temples.[104] Many of these he wrote for the use of his friend Ravi Cākyār of Kuṭṭañceri family. The exact number of the Campū works by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is not quite certain. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's name is mentioned as the author only in a few cases.

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99. See the introductory verse:

उदाहृतं पाणिनिसूत्रमण्डलं प्राग्वासुदेवेन तदूर्ध्वतोऽपरः ।
उदाहरत्यद्य वृकोदरोदितान् धातून् क्रमेणैव हि माधवाश्रयात् ॥

100. *Kāvyamālā,* X. See the verse.

गुरुपादाब्जसंसेवानितान्तविमलाशयैः ।
सतीर्थ्यैरद्य लिख्यन्ते धातुकाव्यार्थयोजनाः ॥

Adyar Ms. XXI. Q. 19 ascribes the commentary to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's students (*Nārāyaṇakaviśiṣyakṛtau..*). V. Rajarajavarma Raja has ascribed it to Nārāyaṇa, the commentator on the *Uttararāmacarita. KSSC.,* III.

101. R. 3656.

102. TP. 1787-89.

103. *Op. cit.,* p. 389.

104. M. Krishnamachariar, *HCSL,* p. 256; E. V. Raman Nambutiri, Introduction to *Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā;* V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri;* Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *op. cit.* Many of these Campūs

(a) The *Svāhāsudhākara*[105] is a *Campū kāvya* dealing with the story of Moon's love for Svāhā, wife of Agni. Nārāyaṇa himself says that it was written in a short time.[106] According to the traditions narrated by the editors of the *Kāvyamālā*, where this has been published, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was once asked by some Brahmins at the sight of the crescent moon, to explain in the form of a literary work, the basis for the custom of all people honouring the crescent moon by waving the garments up; and Nārāyaṇa accordingly made this extempore composition. The idyllic description of the loves of the Moon and Svāhā has been compared by Pischel with Homer's picture of the loves of Ares and Aphrodite. Pischel says,[107] "*Svāhāsudhākara*, eine Art kleiner Campū, die in sehr ansprechender Weise die Liebesgechichte des Mondes mit Svāhā, des Frau des Agni, erzahlt, wobei man unwillkurlich an Homers Schilderung der Liebe des Ares und Aphrodite erinnert wird".[108]

(b) The *Matsyāvatāra*[109] is another short Campū by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. It deals with the story of the Fish-incarnation of Viṣṇu as narrated in the *Bhāgavata* (VII, 24). The restoration of the Vedas to Brahman from whom they had been stolen by Hayagrīva is the main theme of the work. "The elaborate description of the fish, its speedy growth, the deluge, the fight between Hayagrīva and Viṣṇu etc. do not find their counterpart in the *Bhāgavata*".

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have been published in Malayalam by C. K. Acyuta Variyar in *Prabandharatnāvali*, Sriramavilasam Press, Quilon, with Malayalam commentaries. Some have been translated by C. Unnikrishna Variyar in the *Kavanakaumudi*. Those relating to *Mahābhārata* stories and some others have been published in the *Prabandhāvali* series, Urakam. Only few have been published in Devanāgarī.

105. *Kāvyamālā*, IV, 1887, pp. 52-8.

106. See the concluding verse of the work:

स्वाहासुधाकरं नाम प्रबन्धमतिकोमलम् ।
अकरोदचिरेणैव नारायणमहीसुरः ॥

Prof. Rama Pisharoti questions the basis for the information given by Keith (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 336 f) that it is the result of extempore composition. (IHQ. IX, p. 25). But Nārāyaṇa himself says that it was composed quickly (*acireṇa*)

107. Pischel, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena*, p. 29.

108. Odysse, VII, 266 ff.

109. Published in *JT*, *I*.

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa describes the fish as a male, while in the *Bhāgavata* it is a female.[110]

(*c*) The *Aṣṭamīcampū*[111] is a fine description of the Aṣṭamī festival celebrated in the month of Kṛttikā (Nov-Dec.) in the Śiva temple at Vaikkam in North Travancore. It shows a keen sense of observation and a capacity for realistic description on the part of the poet.

(*d*) The *Rājasūya*[112] is one of the most mature Campū works of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. It deals with Dharmaputra's Rājasūya sacrifice, and gives ample opportunity for the poet to display his intimate knowledge of the Mīmāṁsā doctrines. There is a commentary on the work by Vaikkattu Pāccu Mūttatu,[113] who was patronized by Āyilyam Tirunāl Mahārāja of Travancore. (1860-80 A.D.) A Malayalam commentary on the work is also available.[114]

(*e*) The *Dūtavākya* (or *Kṛṣṇadūta*),[115] which deals with Kṛṣṇa's attempt at conciliation between the Pāṇḍavas and Duryodhana, is very popular because of its easy and elegant style.

(*f*) The *Subhadrāharaṇa*[116] deals with the well-known story of Arjuna's love for Subhadrā and her elopement with him; it is an example of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's powers of excellent characterization.

(*g*) In the *Pāñcālīsvayaṁvara*[117] the poet displays his knowledge of Sanskrit grammar; the second part of this work is called *Nālāyanīcarita* or *Pañcendropākhyāna*.[118]

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[110] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. iv.

[111] DC. 12376. Also edited by C. Unnikrishna Variyar.

[112] Published in Saṁskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, vol. 17, No. 10.

[113] TP., 1650.

[114] TC. 1392.

[115] Edited with a Malayalam translation by C. Unnikrishna Variyar, Kottakkal, 1925. There is an edition in the Grantha script, where the name of the work is given as *Kṛṣṇadūta*. The following verse at the end shows that Nārāyaṇa is its author:

नारायणाभिधमहीसुरवर्यवक्त्रजैवातृकामृतझरीनिकरायमाणम् ।
हृद्यं प्रबन्धमिदमद्य समासृजदयं समस्तमनवद्यविराजिपद्यम् ॥

[116] TP., 1959-1961.

[117] DC. 12317.

[118] TP. 1641.

(*h*) The *Niranunāsika* or *Śūrpaṇakhāpralāpa*[119] was composed by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa at the instance of his friend Ravi Cākyār. It is in the form an address by Śūrpaṇakhā to her cousin Rāvaṇa, after Lakshmaṇa had cut off her nose, and it is completely free from nasal sounds.

(*i*) Many other works[120] like *Nṛgamokṣa*, *Vāmanāvatāra*, *Ajāmilamokṣa*, *Kucelavṛtta*, *Santānagopāla*, *Dakṣayāga*, *Kirāta*, *Kaunteyāṣṭaka*, *Sundopasundopākhyāna*, *Ahalyāmokṣa*, *Kailāsavarṇana* and *Tripuradahana* are also attributed to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.[121] According to some he is the author of all the various *Prabandhas* prevalent in Kerala dealing with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* stories. Several such works have been written by later writers in imitation of these.

Most of the *Prabandhas* deal with episodes taken from the epics and *Purāṇas*.[122] The aim of the poet is not to compose original literary works, but to give appropriate texts as bases for the Cākyārs in their exposition of the Purāṇic stories to the people. Hence Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has borrowed profusely beautiful verses from the classical works like Agastya's *Bālabhārata*, Anantabhaṭṭa's *Bhāratacampū*, Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇacampū*, Śaktibhadra's *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*, Murāri's *Anargharāghava* and the *Mahānāṭaka*. Some of his *Prabandhas* are, however, completely free from borrowed verses. Even when he borrows, he uses them in such a way that for an ordinary student it is very difficult to distinguish them from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's own verses.

Among the miscellaneous works of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa may be included the various *Praśastis* to the different kings of the time.

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[119] R. 2915b. See the colophon there:

अनुनासिकरहितानि व्यतनोदेतानि पद्यगद्यानि ।
नारायणाभिधानो द्विजपोतो रविनटेश्वरादेशात् ॥

[120] All these are available in Malayalam editions. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's *Santānagopāla* is different from that by Aśvati Tirunāl Tampurān of Travancore.

[121] Of these *Ahalyāmokṣa Kailāsavarṇana* are in prose and the *Kaunteyāṣṭaka* is in verse.

[122] For details see V. Rajarajavarma Raja *Melpputtūr Bhaṭṭatiri*; Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Bhāṣācampukkal*.

The *Gośrīnagaravarṇana* and the *Vīrakeralapraśasti*[123] are two short works, containing prose passages as well as verses, describing the town of Cochin, and Vīrakerala, the king of Cochin at that time. The latter is also called *Māṭamahīśapraśasti.* The *Bimbalīśapraśasti* is a panegyric on King Godavarma of Vaṭakkuṅkūr.[124] Similarly the *Devanārāyaṇapraśasti* and *Mānavikramapraśasti* are in praise of King Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḷa and Mānavikrama, the Zamorin of Calicut, respectively.[125]

The *Apāṇinīnīyapramāṇatā,*[126] which has been edited by E. V. Raman Nambūtiri, is accepted to be a genuine work of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. Here the usage of words, which are not correct according to Pāṇini's rules, but which have been used by great poets like Murāri and Bhavabhūti, are defended.

The *Koṭiviraha* or the *Śṛṅgāraketucarita* is a small lyrical poem of 107 verses describing the love in separation of Śṛṅgāraketu and Śṛṅgāracandrikā; it is usually ascribed to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. This work is on the model of the Malayalam work *Koṭiyaviraha,* generally ascribed to Mahiṣamaṅgalam Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri, the famous author of *Mahiṣamaṅgalam Bhāṇa.*[127]

The *Sūktaślokas,*[128] nine verses in *sragdharā* metre, give various statistics about the *Rigveda.* The first verse describes the technique which is based on the *Kaṭapayādi* system. (The difference is that *na* means 10, and *kṣa* means 12; and *ta* indicates the end of an *adhyāya* of *Rigveda*). The remaining eight verses can be explained as a *Devīstotra* also. The work has been edited with a detailed Introduction and notes by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

Many other works are also attributed to him by tradition. Thus the commentary on a verse in the *Amarukaśataka* (the one beginning with "*Puṣpodbheda.*") is taken to be by him.[129] A short poem of twelve verses named *Guruvāyupureśastava* is also ascribed to him.[130] He is also supposed to have written *Caturaṅgaślokas*[131] on the game of Indian chess. The *Tantravārttikanibandhana* which is a commentary on Kumārila's *Tantravārttika* is attributed to him by Prof. V. A. Ramasvami Sastri.[132] E. V. Raman Nambutiri assigns the *Subhagasandeśa* and one *Camatkāracintāmaṇi* to him;[133] but he does not produce any evidence in support of his view. There is a story that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wrote a work called *Bhasmaniṣedha*;[134] but nothing is known about the work. *Rāsavilāsa*,[135] a short beautiful poem in three cantos describing Kṛṣṇa's sports with the Gopīs, is also considered to be his; perhaps the introductory verse of the *Prakriyāsarvasva* contains a veiled reference to this poem.[136]

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[123] Published by Keralavarma Valiya Koil Tampuran, Trivandrum. Later they were published by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer in SPT, IX. Nārāyaṇa's name is given in it:

नारायणकवीन्द्रोदितैकगद्यमयी वरा ।

[124] Published in JT, I-4.

[125] Verses in praise of Devanārāyaṇa and Mānavikrama are published by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *SPT.*, vols. XII and XIII. *Bimbalīśapraśasti* is available in Travancore Palace Library. (See Introduction to *Matsyāvatāra*).

[126] Edited by E. V. Raman Nambutiri, Travandrum, 1942. See TC., 475.

[127] *Koṭiviraha* is published in *Kāvyamālā,* Part V.

[128] *JORM,* VIII, pp. 358-71.

Besides these there are several stray verses attributed to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa by popular tradition.[137]

(vii) *Students of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa*

Like his father Mātṛdatta, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was also a great teacher, and had several students under him. Among his students the following are known in literature.

(a) Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary[138] on the *Uttararāmacarita* and the *Diṅmātradarśinī* commentary[139] on Bodhāyana's *Bhagavadajjuka*, is the most important. This Nārāyaṇa was a Numbūtiri Brahmin belonging to the family of

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[129] *TP.*, 1622.

[130] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

[131] *Ibid.*, 360.

[132] R. 3592a. V. A. Ramasvami Sastri, Introduction to *Tattvabindu*, Annamalai University Series, p. 110.

[133] Introduction to *Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā*.

[134] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

[135] R. 2803.

[136] रासविलासविलोलं भजन मुरारेर्मनोरसं रूपम् ।

[137] Some of these stray verses have been published by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *op. cit.* See also K. Kunjunni Raja, *Popular Stray verses of Kerala, AORM* 1953.

[138] R. 3829, Travancore, Curator's Office Ms. 1266. There is another Ms. in the Paliyam library (now in Trivandrum).

[139] Edited by P. Anujan Achan, and published from the Mangalodayam Press, Trichur.

Maṭham, in the village of Vellangallur (*Valarkṣamaṅgalagrāma*).[140] He calls himself the first among the disciples of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.[141] The *Bhāvārthadipikā* was written at the instance of Netranārāyaṇa, the Tamprākkal of Āḻvāñceri.[142] This commentary is referred to in the *Diṅmātradarśinī*.[143] In the latter he quotes a verse from the *Nārāyaṇīya* with the remark that it is from his teacher's Stotra on the Deity at Guruvāyūr temple.[144] In the former he also quotes four verses from the *Nārāyaṇīya* itself with a similar remark.[145]

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[140] See the following verse in the *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary:

ब्रह्मक्षत्रमहीवतंसकनिभे नारायणाख्यः कवि-
र्जातो यस्तु वलर्क्षमङ्गलयुतग्रामे मठाख्ये गृहे ।
तेनेयं भवभुतिगुम्भितवचोगाम्भीर्यकृच्छ्रादिमद्-
वाच्याद्यर्थपरीक्षणव्यसनिना टीका पुनर्निर्मिता ॥

[141] See the colophon at the end of the *Bhāvārthadīpikā*:

“ श्रीमत्केरलभूवलयमहितभूषणोपरिनवग्रामधाम
प्रथितपूर्वोत्तरमीमांसापरमाचार्यनारायणकविवर-
प्रथमान्तेवासिविरचितायां भावार्थदीपिकायाम् ”

[142] *TC.* 1266 has the following verse in the end:

द्विजवरशुभवंशश्रेष्ठमुक्ताफलस्य
प्रसृतविशदभासो नेत्रनारायणस्य ।
विवृतिरिह नियोगात् प्रस्तुतैषा यथावत्
परिणतिमुपयाता काव्यभूषानिषण्णा ॥

[143] यश्चासौ भवभूतिसूक्तिजलधेरर्थौघयादोगण-
प्रक्षोभोत्थितभीतिभञ्जनकरीं व्याख्यातरीं निर्ममे ।
तेनेयं विषमेतिवृत्तगहने बोधायनीये पुन-
र्नटिये गर्भितशास्त्रजृम्भितवचोगाम्भीर्यगुम्फे कृता ॥”

[144] The verse आचार्याख्याधरस्थारणि ....from 84th *daśaka* is quoted with the remark, “ यथोक्तमस्मद्गुरुभिर्गुरुमरुत्पुराधीशस्तुती ।”

[145] While explaining the term देवयान in the second Act of the *Uttararāmacarita*, he quotes four verses from the 4th *daśaka*, beginning with “ ऊर्ध्वलोककुतुकी तु मूर्धतः ” with the remark.

“ अस्मद्गुरुभिः श्रीमद्गुरुवायुनाथस्तोत्ररत्ने प्रदर्शितम् ।”

He has also quoted from the *Prakriyāsarvasva* to explain the usage of the word प्रशास्महे in the Nāndī verse of *Uttararāmacarita*. (See Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer; *op cit.* p. 401). This also shows that Nārāyaṇa wrote after A.D. 1616 (date of *Prakriyāsarvasva*).

This Nārāyaṇa is different from Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, author of the latter part of the *Mānameyodaya*, the commentaries on *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasambhava*, and the short poem *Āśleṣāśataka*.[146] The *Kṛṣṇārpaṇa* commentary on the *Dhātukāvya* is also not by either of these Nārāyaṇas.[147]

(b) Another student of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is Candraśekhara, author of the poem *Kṛṣṇacarita*.[148] In the introduction to the poem he gives several details about himself.[149] He was a native of Parameśvaramaṅgalam on the northern banks of the river Cūrṇī

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[146] A. Govinda Warrier tries to identify them in *IHQ.*, VI, p. 93

[147] V. Rajarajavarma Raja (*KSSC.*, III), attributes this to Nārāyaṇa of Maṭham family. This is not acceptable, for the Maṭham is in Vellāngallur. while the authors of *Kṛṣṇārpaṇa* belonged to Mūkkola.

[148] *TC.*, 1425.

[149] विदुषामभिरामाय रामाय यशसा भृशम् ।
जनितान्ध्यविरामाय रामाय गुरवे नमः ॥

शस्ते गजवनग्रामे भूसुरोत्तमभासुरे ।
ज्ञानविद्यादयाम्भोधेर्यस्य जन्मनिकेतनम् ॥

राज्ये कुरुमहीन्द्रस्य चूर्णीसरिदुदक्तटे ।
अन्तर्ग्रामे जनपदे परमेश्वरमङ्गले ॥

…. …. …. …. …. ….

शोभते दक्षिणामूर्तिः साक्षादवयवैर्युतः ।
पादमूलस्थले तस्य श्रीकण्ठ इति विश्रुतः
जज्ञे पारशवो विद्वत्कवीन्द्रनिवहाग्रणीः ॥

…. …. …. …. …. ….

कवीन्द्रतिलकस्यास्य चन्द्रशेखर इत्यभूत् ।
भागिनेयोऽप्रकाशः सन् दिक्षु दुर्दिनभानुवत् ॥

अस्ति तत्प्रीतिमान् कश्चित् केरलेषु महीपतिः ।
राजराज इति ख्यातः श्रीमान् भागवतोत्तमः ॥

…. …. …. …. …. …. ….

तस्य राज्ञो नियोगेन श्रीकण्ठभगिनीभुवा ।

…. …. …. …. …. ….

श्रीकृष्णचरिताख्यानं काव्यं सर्वहितं कृतम् ॥

(Alwaye). He belonged to the Vāriyar community. He had an uncle named Śrīkaṇṭha who was a great poet and scholar. The poem was written at the instance of Candraśekhara's patron, king Rājarāja of Cochin State, who was a very great devotee of Viṣṇu and a patron of letters. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, author of the *Prakriyāsarvasva,* who was Candraśekhara's preceptor praised the poem *Kṛṣṇacarita* very much. Candraśekhara had another teacher by name Rāma.[150] King Rājarāja of Cochin, who patronized Candraśekhara, may be identical with Vīrakeralavarma praised by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in the *Vīrakeralapraśasti.*

The *Kṛṣṇacarita* is a Mahākāvya in twelve cantos, divided into three sections, dealing with the story of Kṛṣṇa in a simple and lucid style.

(c) Another student of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is the author of the *Tantraprāyaścitta* and the *Anuṣṭhānasamuccaya.*[151] He is a Nambūtiri Brahmin of the Toḻānūr family near Mukkola in Malabar, and is named Nārāyaṇa. He is the son of Pārvatī and Nārāyaṇa. Among the teachers mentioned by him are Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa Mātṛdatta and one Kṛṣṇa.[152]

“ शान्तात्मनामतितरामुपलालनीयं स्वान्तोरुभक्तिभरहृद्यकथानिबन्धम् ।
कान्तं हि काव्यमिदमुज्झति चेतस नूनं कान्तारभूरुह इति ध्रु वं विजह्यात् ॥”

इत्येवं वदता सुशिक्षितमिदं येनैव यः प्रक्रिया-
सर्वस्वाभिहितं निबन्धनमणिं विश्वोत्तरं चाकरोत् ।
यातः श्रीशुकनारदादिसमतां भक्त्या मुकुन्दे च य-
स्तस्मै सर्वविदे नमोऽस्तु गुरवे नारायणायानिशम् ॥

[150] He was also a Vāriyar and belonged to the family of Karikkāt (Gajavana). Govindanātha, author of the Yamaka poem *Gaurīkalyāṇa,* was also a student of this Rāma.

[151] See E. V. Raman Nambutiri, Introduction to *Tantrasamuccaya* Part III (With Malayalam commentary, Trivandrum), 1945, p. 115; Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *op. cit.,* p. 403.

[152] See the verses quoted from *Anuṣṭhānasamuccaya* by E. V. Raman Nambutiri, *loc. cit.* (Also *TC.,* 916).

“ ……………वन्दे कृष्णाभिधं गुरुम् ॥
श्रीमातृदत्ततनयं करुणाम्बुराशि-
निष्यन्दधर्ममधुसभ्यमुखारविन्दम् ।
नारायणं नलिननाभपदारविन्द-
माध्वीमधुव्रतमहं शरणं व्रजामि ॥”

Besides these the author of the *Tattvārthadīpikā* commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Rūpāvatāra*,[153] and the author of the grammatical work *Dhāturatnāvali*[154] also seem to be students of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. Quite probably there were many other students also, who are not known to us at present.

See also the following verses from the *Tantraprāyaścitta*: *TC*., 946

"मुक्तिगेहासिनीमम्बां नक्तन्दिवमुपास्महे ॥
श्रीमातृदत्ततनयं साक्षान्नारायणं परम् ।
मातृदत्ताभिधानं च गुरुकारुण्यभाजनम् ॥
कृष्णाख्यं चाद्वयाहेतुपापपूगादिवारणम् ।
नमामि नमनीयाङ्घ्रीन् गुरूनेतानहर्निशम् ॥"

[153] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 401. Also *TC*., 525. In the *Tattvārthadīpikā*, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is mentioned both in the beginning and the end."

"नत्वा सर्वस्वकृतं नारायणममलचरितमाचार्यम् ।
रूपावतारटीकां करोति तत्वार्थदीपिकां कश्चित् ॥"
"श्रीनारायणकारुण्याट्टीका तत्वार्थदीपिका ।
समाप्ता ; परिगृह्णन्तु सज्जना वीतमत्सराः ॥"

[154] The *Dhāturatnāvali* also refers to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa:

श्रीनारायणमिश्रश्रीगुरुचरणारविन्दयुगलमहम् ।
निश्शेषविबुधपटलीशेश्रयितं शश्वदाश्रये मनसा ॥

THE COCHIN ROYAL FAMILY

The Cochin Royal Family traces its descent from the Kulaśekharas of Mahodayapura, who were the Emperors of Kerala in ancient times.[1] Even when other powerful kingdoms grew into prominence in the north and the south, the Mahodayapura kings retained their nominal title of Kerala-Cakravartin. The Cochin Royal Family, also known as Perumpaṭappu, had its capital at Mahodayapura itself till the fourteenth century A.D., when it was shifted to Cochin. It was only after the shifting of the capital from Mahodayapura, and the growth of the powerful Zamorins of Calicut, that the Cochin Royal Family lost even the nominal overlordship of Kerala.

It is not possible to trace a continuous line of literary contribution by this family from Kulaśekharavarman downwards. In the *Śivavilāsa,* a Mahākāvya written by Dāmodara Cākyār under the patronage of the king of Kāyaṅkulam, the hero is a prince of Perumpaṭappu royal family at Mahodayapura, who is designated as the King of Kerala.[2] In the Malayalam Campū called *Uṇṇiyāṭicarita,* also attributed to this Dāmodara, it is said that there were five branches of this family,[3] and that there were eight other royal families who were feudatories of the Mahodaya kings.

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1. Chapter I.
2. Published in J.T.

“ अध्यासते केरलभूमृतो यां यस्या यथार्थैव महोदयाख्या ।
रामावनौ मुख्यतमा पुरी या तामावसत्येष दिवं वृषेव ॥
मन्ये स रामोप्ययमेव रामवर्मान्वयः क्षत्रमहोनिधानम् ।
.... ख्यातो बहुव्याप्तितयान्ववायः ॥

(*Bahuvyāptitā*=perumpaṭappu)

3. “Keralavisayam pālippānāy mahitamahodayanilaye maruvum Nṛpasiṃhasya prāṇair iva param añcitacaritaih pañcabhir apica pṛthāsutasadṛśair unnatavaṃśaprabhavasamṛddhaiḥ kṣattriyavīrair Dikpālamayair aṃśair iva punar aṣṭabhir api vā sāmantavarair nīla niṛantaram abhirakṣitamāy.

The earliest work written under the patronage of the Cochin royal family is the Bhāṇa called *Viṭanidrā* which contains references to a prince Rāmavarman of Mahodayapura who was the son of Queen Lakṣmī and to the prosperity of the city.[4] It is quite possible that this Rāmavarman is identical with the hero of *Śivavilāsa*, who is also a son of Lakṣmī. This Bhāṇa, written before the shifting of the capital to Cochin, may belong to the fourteenth century. It is of importance from the literary point of view also.[5]

Several poets and scholars were patronized by the kings of Cochin; but it is very difficult to identify these kings. They are sometimes referred to as Rājarāja, a title which could be applied to any king. The names Rāmavarman, Godavarman or Keralavarman which are given are also vague, as there have been many kings of Cochin having these names. Hence all that could be given are only tentative suggestions about their identity.

In the Malayalam Campū *Tenkailanāthodayam* of Nīlakaṇṭha who was patronized by a Vīra Keralavarman of Cochin, there is a list of seven kings of Cochin who preceded his patron.[6] Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti's view that all these kings mentioned in the list belonged to the pre-Portuguese period cannot be accepted, since from a study of the language used in the Campū it is clear that the work must belong to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The last three kings in the list are Vīra Keralavarman, Rāmavarman and his brother Godavarman. From historical records we know that one Vīra Keralavarman ruled over Cochin from 1561 to 1565 A.D., and that he was succeeded by Rāmavarman who ruled till 1601 A.D. There is an inscription of this Rāmavarman in Cidambaram temple which is dated 1575 A.D.

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[4] R. 3755; *KSSC*, I, p. 352.

अहो चूर्णीसरित्कल्लोलहस्तालिङ्गितप्राकारमेखलायाः केरलकुलराजधान्याः श्रीरामवर्मपरिपालितायाः महोदयपुर्याः । Also the *Bharatavākya*:—

यावत्खण्डेन्दुमौलिं श्रयति गिरिसुता, यावदास्ते मुरारे-
र्वक्षस्यक्षीणहारद्युतिमणिशबले देवता मङ्गलानाम् ।
यावद्वक्त्रेषु मैत्रीमुन्नयति गिरामीश्वरी पद्मयोने-
स्तावल्लक्ष्मीप्रसूतिः स्वयमवतु भुवं रामवर्मा नरेन्द्रः ॥

[5] See the description of the market at Mahodayapura:—

वर्णानां वचसां च न क्रमजुषां भेदः परं दृश्यते
सूनाखड्गनिकृत्तजन्तुनिवहक्रेङ्कारवाचालिता ।
वक्त्रग्रस्तविशीर्णमेष नलकापङ्क्तिः शुनां भ्राजते
सम्मर्दः क्रयविक्रयाकुलधियां प्रस्तौति कोलाहलम् ॥

Addressing a girl, the hero says,

तलोदरि तवापाङ्गैः क्रीतमेकं जगत्त्रयम् ।
त्वां विना स तु कन्दर्पः कं दर्पमवलम्बते ॥

The work contains a reference to the four ancient writers of Bhāṇas (Vararuci, Īśvaradatta, Śyāmilaka and Śūdraka):

"भवतु शिवं ... भाणकृद्भ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः ।"

Veṭṭaśśeri Nīlakaṇṭhan Nambūtiri of Mūkkola who commented on the *Tripuradahana* and the *Śaurikathodaya* of Vāsudeva has referred to Rājarāja and Rāmavarman as the kings of Cochin and to Godavarman as helping the latter in the administration of the country.[7] This Rāmavarman may be identified with the king of Cidambaram inscription. The patron of Bālakavi who wrote the *Rāmavarmavilāsa*[8] and the *Ratnaketūdaya*[9] may be this Rāmavarman himself. He says in the *Rāmavarmavilāsa* that Rāmavarman's mother had no son for a long time and that it was with the blessing of the Deity of the Ūrakam temple that a son was born.[10] The Nambūtiris of Maḷamangalam family must have also been patronized by this Rāmavarman, and his predecessor Keralavarman referred to in the Bhāṇa as Rājarāja.[11]

The *Mahiṣamaṅgala Bhāṇa*[12] is one of the most popular Sanskrit *Bhāṇas* of Kerala. There is little originality in the plot, which depicts the picture of the love between Anaṅgapatākā and

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[6] Ullur, Introduction to *Tenkailānāthodayam* (Trichur, 1936); *SPT*, VI pp. 283-97; K. Rama Pisharoti, *JORM*, IV, pp. 142-151; V. K. R. Menon, *BRVI*, V, pp. 56 ff; K. Kunjunni Raja, *ALB*, XI, pp. 212 ff.

[7] See chapter 1. Also *ALB*. XI, pp. 212 ff.

[8] R. 3873a.

[9] Tanjore, 4490. Also printed in Kumbakonam.

[10] तत्र तावन्महाराजस्य जननी प्रथमा धीरजननीनां पुरा चिरमपत्यवाञ्छया घल्लयपुरवासिनीं भगवतीं भवानीमाराधितवती । (Quoted by Ullur, *KSC*, II).

[11] *Vide infra.*

[12] Published from Palghat, 1880. Published from Trichur with the Malayalam commentary by K. Rama Variyar.

Anaṅgaketu. The style is chaste and fluent, and is responsible for the popularity of the play. Verses like

कुटिलमसितमेघच्छायमाभोगभारं
चिकुरमधिकदीर्घं लम्बमानं वहन्ती ।
परिलघयति पश्चाद्भागकान्त्यापि धैर्यं
न हि गुलगुलिकायाः क्वापि माधुर्यभेदः ॥

are very popular in Kerala. The following is the description of a girl going to a tank for bathing:

अर्धालक्ष्यमनोहरोरुयुगलं नात्यायतं विभ्रती
वासः प्रोषितभूषणैरवयवैः कान्तिं किरन्ती पराम् ।
तैलाभ्यक्ततनुर्निबद्धचिकुरा ताम्बूलगर्भानना
वापीं स्नातुमितो निजान्निलयनान्निर्याति शातोदरी ॥

The author was patronized by a king of Cochin who is referred to in the work as Rājarāja.[13] In the prologue it is stated that the Bhāṇa was composed at the instance of the king of Cochin named Rājarāja.[14] He also refers to his family deity, Goddess Kāmākṣī of Urakam temple.

Mahiṣamaṅgala is only the house name of the author. It is the Sanskritized form of *Maḻamaṅgalam* by which term the family is known in Kerala. It is sometimes referred to as Māṣamaṅgala, Maḻāṅgala and Moḻāṅgala. At present the family is extinct; it is believed that it got merged with the present Taraṇanallūr family in Perumanam village. The reference found in some of the works

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13. See the verse at the end of the work:

राजत्कीर्तिविभूषितत्रिभुवनः श्रीराजराजाह्वयो
राजेन्दुः क्षितिमायुगान्तसमयं पायादपेतापदम् ।
वामार्धार्जितपुण्यपूरलहरी सोमार्धचूडामणेः
कामाक्षी कुलदेवता मम च सा कामप्रसूः कल्पताम् ॥

14. अद्याहं...माटमहाराजस्य राजराजस्य निदेशात्....
कल्पितक्लयालयविहारायाः...शिवकामसुन्दर्याः श्री-
कामाख्याः कटाक्षनालविगलदविरलदयामृतसदासेकप्रफुल्ल-
कवित्वपादपेन केनापि निबद्धं कमपि भाणम्.... ॥

by members of this family shows that the house was situated somewhere near Nānditīra and the river Vallī.[15]

More than one scholar is known as belonging to this family. Śaṅkara, the great astrologer, his son Nārāyaṇa author of the *Prāyaścittavimarśinī,* and Parameśvara author of the *Āśaucadīpikā* (also called Āśaucadīpaka). Who among these is the poet is a question yet to be settled.[16]

At the end of the *Āśaucadīpikā* the author says[17] that he is Parameśvara of Puruvanagrāma, near Nāndītīra, student of Mādhava and others, and that he is completing the work on the Kali date represented by the chronogram *jālāṅge dhanasevyanut,* which is equivalent to 1578 A.D. There are two commentaries on the work, one by a member of the Mahiṣamaṅgalam family itself,[18] and another by Godavarman Yuvarāja of Cranganore.[19] In the latter it is stated that the work is by Mahiṣamaṅgalam.

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[15] See *Āśaucadīpaka* (TC, 105a): 'नान्दीतीरसमीपगेन पुरुदावग्रामजेन' and *Rūpānayanapaddhati* (TC, 521): ग्रामे पुरुवने वल्लीग्रामे महिषमङ्गले। V. Rajarajavarma Raja suggests (*KSSC,* II, p. 615f) that the correct reading is *Tānditīra,* and that the river mentioned is the one near Kālaṭi. This is not acceptable, for the river Nāndi is mentioned near Perumanam even in the *Bhṛṅgasandeśa* (Sahṛdaya).

[16] There has been some confusion regarding these members of the family. R. Narayana Panikkar (*KBSC,* I, pp. 337ff) assigns all the works to the same member. A G. Variyar assigns the author of the Malayalam Campū (*Bhāṣāṇaiṣadhacampū*) to the seventeenth century poet, and the Bhāṇa to a thirteenth century author (*IHQ,* VI, p. 92).

[17] See colophon:

इत्थं तत्परमेश्वरेण निखिलं ह्याशौचदीपाख्यकं
श्रीमन्मद्गुरुमाधवादिकगुरून् नत्वा विलिख्याधुना ।
"जालाङ्गे धनसेव्यनुत्" कलिदिनेऽथाभूत् समाप्तं क्रमा-
न्नान्दीतीरसमीपगेन पुरुदावग्रामजेनाञ्जसा ॥

[18] TC, 101. It is called *Candrikā.* See the colophon:

पुरुवनसंज्ञे ग्रामे जातेनाशौचदीपिका रचिता ।
तद्वृत्तिस्तत्रत्यैनैवैषाशौचचन्द्रिका प्रोक्ता ॥

[19] TC, 102.

प्रीत्यै सतां महिषमङ्गलनाम्नि गेहे
जातेन भूसुरवरेण पुरा कृतं यत् ।
आशौचदीपकमिदं विवरीतुमत्र
श्रीकोटिलिङ्गनिलयो नृपतिः समिन्धे ॥

Nārāyaṇa says in his *Prāyaścittavimarśinī* that he belongs to the Mahiṣamaṅgala family in the Puruvana grāma, that he is the son of Śaṅkara, and that he studied mathematics.[20] Śaṅkara is the author of several works:[21] the Malayalam commentaries called *Bālaśaṅkara* on the *Kāladīpaka*, the *Muhūrtapadavī*, and the *Laghubhāskarīya*, *Gaṇitasāra*, *Cadragaṇitakrama*, *Praśnasāra*, *Pañcabodha*, *Pañcabodhārthadarpaṇa*, *Bhāṣākāladīpaka* etc. In Sanskrit he has written a grammatical work called *Rūpānayanapaddhati*, where he says that he is Śaṅkara of the Mahiṣamaṅgala house near Vallī in Puruvana grāma, that he is writing this grammatical work while specializing in mathematics, and that his date of birth is represented by the chronogram *jātoyam hamsatulye*, giving the Kali date 1678168, which is equivalent to 1494 A.D.[22] From the references to the dates given in his commentaries it is known that he wrote his commentary on the *Kāladīpaka* in 1540, and that on the *Muhūrtapadavī* in 1554 A.D.[23] Śaṅkara was a student of a Brahmin (Poṯṯi) named Parameśvara of Vāḻumāveli in Ceṅṅannūr (Śoṇācala).[24] This Śaṅkara was a great astronomer-astrologer, and tradition makes him an incarnation of Bṛhaspati, the teacher of the gods. There are several stories about Mahiṣamaṅgalam current in Malabar.[25]

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[20] TC, 135. See the colophon:

विश्वामित्रजदेवरातमुनिसंभूतोदलस्यान्वये
ग्रामे चापि महावने महिषपूर्वे मङ्गलाख्ये गृहे ।
जातः शङ्करनन्दनो गणितविन्नारायणाख्यो द्विजः
प्रायश्चित्तविमर्शिनीमरचयत् स्मार्तापराधेष्विमाम् ॥

[21] For details see Ullūr *SPT*, II; *KSC*, II, pp. 269 ff.

[22] TC, 521. He says:

ग्रामे पुरुवने वल्लीग्रामे महिषमङ्गले ।
जातोऽयं हंसतुल्येऽह्नि जातो यः शङ्कराह्वयः ॥
गणिते यतमानेन तेन व्याकरणाध्वनि ।
पदप्रचारहीनेनाप्येषा बालकृते कृता ॥

DC 15304 has the reading *Śaṅkarātmajaḥ* instead of *Śaṅkarāhvayaḥ*. It must be due to scribal error. See K. Kunjunni Raja, *Mangalodayam*, XX-12; S. Venkatasubramonia Iyer, *Manuscripts Notes*, *JT*, IV.

[23] See the following references:

"Kollam 729—ām āṇṭu karkaṭakamāsattil madhyâdhimāsam 'Devo' pinaddhaḥ kapaṭīharo'sau' ennivaṭṭe koṇṭu colliyatu." (Commentary on *Muhūrtapadavī*).

"4641 Kalyabdam kaḻiññiṭṭu pinne meṭaññāyar tuṭaṅṅi eṭṭu tiṅṅalum kaḻiññiṭṭulla dhanuññāyaril annatte adhimāsam ennu kalpikkaṇam." (Commentary on the *Kâladīpaka*).

Kali 4641 = 1540 A.D.
Kolḻam 729 = 1554 A.D.

There are some poetical works also by a member of the Mahiṣamaṅgalam family. Besides the well known Bhāṇa, there is a Malayalam Campū called *Bhāṣānaiṣadhacampū* which is considered to be one of the best Campūs in Malayalam literature. There are also some Malayalam poems like the *Dārikavadham Brāhmaṇippāṭṭu*, which are generally attributed to Mahiṣamaṅgalam. There is also a Sanskrit poem called *Rāsakrīḍā*,[26] as well as a Campū called *Uttararāmacarita*,[27] by a member of the Mahiṣamaṅgalam family. From a comparison of the Bhāṇa with the *Bhāṣānaiṣadhacampū* it is clear that the two are by the same hand. Even in the Malayalam Campū we find Sanskrit verses of exquisite beauty such as,

सङ्कल्पसङ्गमसुखानुभवस्य नाहं
भङ्गं करोमि समये समये समेत्य ।
सञ्चिन्त्य नूनमिति तौ सदयं विहाय
निद्रा जगाम निपुणेव सखी सकाशात् ॥

Another excellent Malayalam Campū called the *Koṭiyaviraha* is also attributed by some to the author of the *Bhāṣānaiṣadhacampū*. According to Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer[28] many other Malayalam works like *Rājaratnāvalīyam*, *Bāṇayuddham*, *Rāsakrīḍa*, *Tiru-*

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[24] In the Malayalam *Kāladīpaka* he says:

अस्ति शोणाचलग्रामवास्तव्यो मुनिपुङ्गवः ।
दयालुः सर्वभूतेषु देवाराधनतत्परः ॥
दैवज्ञस्तत्पदाम्भोजमकरन्दनिषेवणात् ।
भ्रान्तचित्तेन केनापि रचितं तद्द्विजन्मना ॥

See also colophons like:

इति परमेश्वरप्रियशिष्येण शङ्करेण विरचिते कालदीपिकाव्याख्याने .... ।

[25] See *KSSC*, II, pp. 650 ff; Ullūr, *op.cit.*

[26] R. 5282. It is the same as *Rāsotsava* R 5139.

[27] *TC*. 1259b.

[28] *KSC*, II, pp. 295 ff.

nṛttam, *Pārvatīstuti* and *Viṣṇumāyācaritam* are also the works of the author of *Bhāṣānaiṣadhacampū*.

Generally it was assumed that the poet and the astrologer were identical. In the commentary on the *Mahiṣamaṅgalam Bhāṇa*, Kaikkulaṅṅara Rāma Vāriyar says that the author of the Bhāṇa is the famous scholar who is considered to be an incarnation of Bṛhaspati. There are also some old verses identifying the poet with the astrologer.[29] But Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer points out that the poet must be identified with Śaṅkara's son Nārāyaṇa.[30] The reference to King Rājarāja of Cochin, found in the Bhāṇa does not help in deciding the date or identity of the poet, for Rājarāja is a term that could be used to any king.

We know that Śaṅkara was born in 1494 A.D. and that he wrote the commentaries on *Kāladīpaka* and *Muhūrtapadavī* in 1540 and 1554 respectively. So his son Nārāyaṇa will have to be assigned to the middle of the sixteenth century A.D.

The *Rāsakrīḍā* which is usually assigned to the author of the Bhāṇa is a beautiful poem in 213 verses in Vasantatilaka metre describing Kṛṣṇa's sports with the Gopīs on the bank of the Yamunā.[31]

There is another fine Sanskrit work which may be assigned to the author of the *Rāsakrīḍā*. That is the *Uttararāmacaritacampū*. The identity of the two authors will be quite clear from a comparison of the following verse found in the *Rāsakrīḍā*, praising the Goddess Valayādhīśvarī of the temple, with the two introductory verses of the *Uttararāmacaritacampū*.

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[29] ज्योतिश्शास्त्रविदां पुरस्सर सुरस्रोतस्विनीवीच्चिका-
गर्वोन्मीलनकर्मठोद्भटवचःसन्दोहवारान्निधे ।
विद्वन् विश्वजनाभिराम चिररात्राय क्षितौ जेजिहि
ध्वस्तामङ्गल माषमङ्गलमहीगीर्वाणचूडामणे ॥

[30] *Op. cit.*

[31] V. Rajarajavarma Raja says that the name of the author is suggested in the following verse of the *Rāsakrīḍā*:

गीतं श्रुतिस्वरपरिष्कृतरागवन्धं
नारायणस्य वदनाम्बुरुहप्रसूतम् ।
आपीय कर्णविवरेण जगत्समस्त-
मानन्दनाम्नि जलधाववगाढमासीत् ॥

वन्दारुदेवकुलमौलिविराजमान-
मन्दारमाल्यमधुवासितपादपीठम् ।
वन्दामहे वलयमन्दिरवासलोलं
चम्द्रावतंसवपुरर्धतपोविलासम् ।

(*Rāsakrīḍā*).

वन्दारुदेवगणमौलिविराजमान-
मन्दारसूनसुरभीकृतपादपीठम् ।
सम्भावयामि हृदयेन सरस्वतीं तां
अम्भोजयोनिवदनाम्बुजराजहंसीम् ॥
हस्तारविन्दधृतपुष्पशरेक्षुचाप-
पाशांकुशान् अरुणभूषणमाल्यलेपान् ।
वन्दामहे वलयमन्दिरवासलोलां-
श्चन्द्रावतंसवपुरर्धतपोविलासान् ॥

(*Uttararāmacarita*)

From this Campū we learn that the author had a teacher named Kṛṣṇa.[32]

Another work from a member of Mahiṣamaṅgalam family is the poem *Uttararāmacarita,* also called *Uttararāghavīya,*[33] which describes in a sweet and graceful style the story of Rāma and Sītā after their return from Lanka. It has five cantos. Some people ascribed this work to Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; while others assigned it to Rāmapāṇivāda; the style is entirely different from that of Melputtūr. In one manuscript of the work available in Akavūr Mana, the work is attributed to Mahiṣamaṅgalam. The influence of the Malayalam *Rāmāyaṇacampū* is found in this work.[34]

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[32] See the verses:

यशोदयामण्डितात्मा यथेष्टदुग्धगोधनः ।
जयत्यमेयमहिमा कृष्णः कृष्ण इवापरः ॥
तत्कृपावारिसम्पर्करोहत्सारस्वताङ्कुरः ।
चरितं रामचन्द्रस्य रचयाम्यहमुत्तरम् ॥

Perhaps this Kṛṣṇa is identical with the teacher of king Rāmavarman and Bālakavi.

[33] Edited by K. Rama Pisharoti and published from Śrī Bālamanorama Press, Mylapore. See also chapters on Melputtūr and Rāmapāṇivāda.

[34] *KSSC*, III, pp. 424 ff.

According to Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer[35] the poet Mahiṣamaṅgalam is also the author of the *Vyavahāramālā* on Hindu law.

Bālakavi, author of the two dramas *Rāmavarmavilāsa*[36] and *Ratnaketūdaya*,[37] was a native of Mullandrum in North Arcot District, who came to Kerala in search of literary patronage. He was the son of Kālahasti and the grandson of Mallikārjuna. His teacher Kṛṣṇa was an erudite scholar from Kerala. Bālakavi's grandfather Mallikārjuna was the son of a poet named Yauvanabhārati, and grandson of Somanātha.[38] Bālakavi's patron is Rāmavarman, the king of Cochin; he is the hero of the play *Rāmavarmavilāsa*. Even in the other work, King Rāmavarman is mentioned with great respect.

Regarding the date and identity of Bālakavi and his patron Rāmavarman there has been some controversy.[39] Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita states in the prologue to the *Nalacarita nāṭaka* that Appayya Dīkṣita was a younger contemporary of Bālakavi;[40] according to this Bālakavi has to be assigned to the sixteenth century. The alleged tradition making him a contemporary of Uddaṇḍa Sastri need not be taken seriously. Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti's suggestion[41] that Bālakavi belonged to the pre-Portuguese period since no reference to the Europeans is found in the dramas, is based on an *argumentum ex silentio* and not on any definite evidence. Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer identifies this king Rāmavarman of Cochin with the Rāmavarman of Cidambaram Inscription dated 1576 A.D.[42]

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35. *KSC*, II, p. 300.
36. R 3873a.
37. Tanjore 4490. This was printed in Śrīvidyā Press Kumbakonam.
38. See the passage in the *Ratnaketūdaya*:

एनमुपश्लोकितवान् केरलगुरुर्जिताशेषशेमुषीविशेषः कृष्णमनीषी—
योऽभूद्यौवनभारतीकविवराच्छ्रीसोमनाथात्मजा-
च्छन्दोगः स हि मल्लिकार्जुनकविर्द्धन्यः पिता यत्पितुः ।
सोऽयं वालकविः सुधार्द्रकविताभाक्कालहस्त्यात्मजः
प्रख्यातो भुवि कस्य न श्रुतिपथं श्रेयोनिधिर्गाहते ॥

39. On the date of Bālakavi see K. Rama Pisharoti, *JORM*, IV, pp. 142-51; Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, Introduction to *Tenkailanāthodayam*, Trichur (1936); V. K. R. Menon, *BRVI*, V, pp. 56 ff; *HCSL*, p. 656; *SPT*, VI pp. 283-97.
40. See chapter on Mānavikrama.
41. *loc. cit.*
42. *KSC*, II, pp. 326 ff.

The *Rāmavarmavilāsa* is a drama in five acts describing the story of Rāmavarman, king of Cochin. Entrusting the entire government of his State to his brother Godavarman, the king goes to Tulākkāveri, and there meets a girl named Mandāramālā. He falls in love with her, marries her, and lives with her there for some time. Then he hears from his brother that his country is being attacked by enemies. He comes back to Cochin, takes charge of the government and defeats all the enemies.

The *Ratnaketūdaya* of Bālakavi was also composed at the instance of the king of Cochin. The information that can be gathered from these two dramas are of some use in the reconstruction of the mediaeval history of Cochin.[43]

Vedāntācārya who wrote a commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* called *Uttejinī, Prakāśottejinī,* or *Sarvaṭīkāvibhañjinī,*[44] was patronized by a king of Cochin named Ravivarman. He was a native of Kāñcipura, and had once been in the court of the king of Tanjore. He was the son of Śrīnivāsāddhvarin of Bhāradvāja gotra, who was the brother of Annadānasarasvatī, chief of the Guruśara village near Gopapura, who had been to Benaras and who had performed Agniṣṭoma and other sacrifices. His elder brother was Nṛsiṃha. Vedāntācārya was a scholar well versed in all the Śāstras. Once he came to the Iriñjālakkuḍa temple in Cochin State, and met Prince Keralavarman, nephew of the king. It was at the request of this prince that he wrote the commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*.[45] All the verses given in the commentary of the tenth Ullāsa are about King Ravivarman of Cochin; hence that section is also called *Ravirājayaśobhūṣaṇa.*[46]

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[43] See p. 155.

[44] *TC*, 1168-1170. See colophon.

इति श्री भारद्वाजकुलजलधिकलानिधि.....गुरुशरग्रामाधिराजकृतगङ्गास्नानाग्निष्टोमादिनित्यान्नदानसरस्वतीसहोदर-श्रीनीवासाध्वर्युवरतनय-सर्वज्ञनृसिंहदेशिकसहज.....श्रीवेदान्तविरचितायां सर्वटीकाविभञ्जिन्यां प्रकाशोत्तेजिन्यां काव्यप्रकाशटीकायां...

[45] See the verses in the beginning of the commentary:

"नृपः स वीरकेरलो .... ।
कदाचिदागतो मुकुन्दवन्दनाय संगमस्थले ... ॥"
"तुण्डीरक्षितिमण्डलमण्डनकाञ्चीपुरादिहायातम् ।
वेदान्तदेशिकं बुधमैक्षत.............. ॥"
"...निदेशतस्तस्य राज्ञो वेदान्तदेशिकः ।
प्रकाशोत्तेजिनीं नाम टीकामाधातुमुद्यतः ॥

Vedāntācārya says that he is the chief of the scholars in the court of the king of Cochin, and that he has been praised by the great poet and Mantravādin Vāmana and by a Saṃnyāsin who is like an incarnation of Sadānanda.[47] About the identification of the kings Ravivarman and his nephew Keralavarman there is difference of opinion. K. Rama Pisharoti says[48] that they ruled over Cochin during 1565-1601 and 1601-1615 respectively. But Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer[49] is inclined to identify them with the kings mentioned by Nīlakaṇṭha in the Malayalam Campū *Tenkailanāthodayam*;[50] he says that this Keralavarman died in 1561 A.D.

We have already mentioned how under the patronage of Vīra Keralavarman of Cochin (1601-1615 A.D.), Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote the *Gośrīnagaravarṇana* and *Vīrakeralapraśasti.* After his time for about two centuries we do not come across any substantial literary work produced under the patronage of the Cochin kings.

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[46] *KSC,* II, p. 302; *TC,* 1168 colophon.

[47] "वसुन्धराकलिततपोधनपुरन्दरेण सदानन्दावतारेण योऽयमस्तूयत— ...'
नानातन्त्रस्वतन्त्रश्चरति बुधजनास्वाद्यगम्भीरसूक्ति
वेदान्तचार्यसिंहो विसृमरसुयशःकेसरः केरलोर्व्याम् ।"
तथैव महाकविमन्त्रवादिशिखामणिना वामनभूसुरेणापि प्राशंसि—...
"वेदान्ताचार्यसूर्योदयमनुसमभूत् साधुचक्रप्रहर्षो ..." इति स तादृशः ।
भारद्वाजान्वयाम्भोनिधिजननजुषः श्रीनिवासाध्वरीन्दोः
संजातः सर्वविद्याजलधिकलशजः श्रीनृसिंहानुजो यः ।
श्रीकोच्चीराजसिंहासननिलयसुधीचक्रवर्ती बुधोऽसौ
वेदान्ताचार्यनामा रचयति विवृत्तिं व्यक्तकाव्यप्रकाशाम् ॥

[48] 'Sanskrit Studies', *Progress of Cochin,* edited by T. K. Krishna Menon, 1932.

[49] *KSC,* II, pp. 304 ff. For his earlier views on the subject, see *Vijñānadīpika,* III p. 234 f.

[50] Nīlakaṇṭha refers to Rāmavarman, Ravivarman and Keralavarman:
तदनु विपुलवैदुषीनिधानं मनुजवरोऽजनि तत्र गोदवर्मा ।
अगणितगुणशेवधिश्च मध्ये रविसदृशो रविवर्मनामधेयः ॥
आविर्बभूव तदनन्तरं...श्रीवीरकेरल इति क्षितिपालचन्द्रः ॥

Vīra Keralavarman of Cochin[51] who ruled from 1809 to 1828 A.D. was himself an excellent scholar in Sanskrit, besides being a generous patron of literature. Like his elder brother Rāmavarman who was the king of Cochin for a short period from 1805 to 1809, Keralavarman was also a follower of the Mādhva school. These two kings were very much interested in the teachings of Madhva, and used their influence to popularize them in the State. Rāmavarman wrote a Stotra work in Sanskrit called *Pūrṇatrayīśastuti* about the Deity of the temple at Trippunittura. His brother Keralavarman has written more than fifty Kathakali works in Malayalam. In Sanskrit he wrote a few Storas like *Pūrṇatrayīśaśataka* and *Daśāvatāraślokamālā*. Vīra Keralavarman was also attracting many of the scholars and poets of the time to his court. His sister Subhadrā was a good scholar; it was she who sent for Ārūr Mādhavan Aṭitiri to the palace as a tutor for the prince Rāmavarman who later came to the throne in 1828 A.D. Ārūr Aṭitiri, Cerānallūr Kṛṣṇan Kartā, Bhāskara of Mutukkuriśśi, Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri of Ilayiṭam and Iṭaveṭṭikkāṭ Nambūtiri were all patronized by this king.

The *Uttaranaiṣadhīyacarita*, or the *Uttaranaiṣadha*,[52] is a poem of sixteen cantos describing the life of Nala and Damayantī after their marriage, written as a supplement to Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhīyacarita*. The author is Mādhavan Aṭitiri[53] of the Ārūr family in the village of Perumanam near Trichur. He calls himself Vandārudvijamādhava and Vandārubhaṭṭa; the term *vandāru* is the Sanskritized form of *Ārūr*. He was the son of Nīlakaṇṭha and Śrīdevī. He had his early education from his grandfather; later he studied under Rudra Vāriyar of Deśamaṅgalam family, and Pantalam Subrahmaṇya Śāstri. He also studied under Princess Manoramā of Kiḷakke Kovilakam in Calicut. Later, after his marriage, he went to the Cranganore palace, and was a teacher to Godavarman, the third prince there at that time. It is this prince that later became famous as Godavarman Yuvarāja, the author of *Rāmacarita* and *Rasasadana*. Ārūr Aṭitiri could not stay at Cranganore for long. Queen Subhadrā, sister of the king of Cochin, herself a scholar, had him brought to Trippunittura for the education of Rāmavarman, Yuvarāja of Cochin. Later when his student came to the throne, Ārūr Aṭitiri was given a munificent annual pension. *Uttaranaiṣadha* was written under the patronage of this king. All these details about his life are given by the poet himself in his work.[54] The poet also says that he had an initiation to the *bālā-mantra* which helped him in the development of his poetic talents.[55] Ārūr Aṭitiri lived in the early half of the nineteenth century A.D.; from the chronogram *śuddhadhyānaikadīpaḥ* given in the concluding verse of the poem[56] we know that the work was completed on the Kali day 1810195, equivalent to 1830 A.D. It is said that Mādhava was born in 1765 and died in 1836 A.D.[57] Queen Subhadrā who invited him to Trip-

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[51] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC*, III, pp. 444ff; K. Narayana Pisharoti, *SPT*, VI-4, pp. 394 ff.

[52] DC 11455; *HCSL*; p. 184f; *HSL*, p. 141n; *JRAS*, (1900), p. 764; *MQR*, II, p. 296; *SPT*, II, pp. 410-16; *Mathrubhumi Annual*, 1932; *KSC*, III, pp. 482ff.

[53] Aṭitiri (*Pādaśrī*) is the term applied to an *Āhitāgni* (one who has performed the *agnyādhāna* sacrifice) in Kerala.

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54. “ वन्दारुद्विजमाधवं यमसृजच्छ्रीनीलकण्ठाध्वरी
श्रीदेवी च सतीसमा सतितमा साहित्यसौहित्यतः ।
यं शास्ति स्म पितामहोऽथ च पयःक्रोडालयो ब्रह्मवित्
सुब्रह्मण्यसुधीश्च रुद्रगुरुरप्यानन्दयत्यग्रणीः ॥
यं विद्यार्थिनमर्थपोषमपुषद्राज्ञी पुरोमन्दिर-
क्ष्माभृत्सिन्धुपवंशभूः सुविदुषी विद्युत्प्रकाशा भुवि ।
गार्हस्थ्ये परिनिष्ठितः पुनरशाच्छ्रीकोटिलिङ्गाभिध-
क्षोणीनायकभागिनेयसुधियं स्थाने तृतीयं च यः ॥
माटक्ष्मेशसहोदरी सदकरोद्राज्ञी सुभद्राभिधा
सार्थाख्या युवराजपुत्रविनयायानाय्य यं पुत्रिणी ।
साम्राज्याधिकृतेन तेन विहितो यस्मिन् गुरोर्निष्क्रय-
स्तेनैवार्पितजीवनो भवति यः प्रत्यब्दमब्दश्रिया ॥

55. यो वन्दारुकुलाहिताग्निरयते सामन्तसीमन्तम-
ण्युद्दीप्राङ्घ्रिकमाठभूपरिबृढश्रीरामवर्मेक्षणम् ।
तद्बालाभिधमन्त्रसंपुटितसत्पञ्चाक्षरोत्थे नवे
काव्येऽत्रोत्तरनैषधीयचरिते सर्गोऽग्रिमो निर्गतः ॥

56. ‘ शुद्धध्यानैकदीपः ’ कलितिमिरमपाकृत्य निष्कृत्यशेषो
नानासन्तानकल्पद्रुमभुवि तपनो योच्चतापारिजातैः ।
शच्येवोच्चैर्महेन्द्रः सुरभुवि दमयन्त्याङ्गनामौलिमण्या
केलीवन्यामवन्यामपि स निरविशन्नन्दनानन्दलक्ष्मीम् ॥

57. *SPT.*, VI, p. 410.

punittura to teach her son Rāmavarman was the sister of Keralavarman who was the king of Cochin from 1809 to 1828 A.D. Mādhava's student Rāmavarman came to the throne in 1828 A.D.

Kṛṣṇan Kartā of Cerānallūr was one of the court poets of Vīrakeralavarman, king of Cochin, and flourished during 1765-1845 A.D. He married the daughter of Rāmavarman, Śaktan Tampurān, of Cochin and Pārukkuṭṭi Amma of Kuruppam house, Trichur. He wrote the Stotra work *Citpureśastuti*[58] on the deity of the temple at Chittūr near Ernakulam. It is written on the model of the *Nārāyaṇīya*, and contains 312 verses. The date of its composition is 1808, as is indicated by the Kali chronogram *tvatkṛpālabdhisādhyam*, given in the work itself. From the literary point of view the poem is not very important.

Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri of Ilayiṭam in Āmballūr was also a protege of this Keralavarman. He lived between 1770 and 1840 A.D., and wrote the *Uṣāpariṇaya campū*[59] in imitation of the *Rukmaṇīsvayaṃvara* of Iṭaveṭṭikkāṭ Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri. It is said to have been composed in one day.

Bhāskara of Mutukkuriśśi,[60] who wrote the *Śṛṅgāralīlātilaka* under the patronage of the Zamorin Mānavikrama, was also a protege of Vīrakeralavarman of Cochin.

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[58] *KSC*, III, p. 486f; *SPT*, VI, p. 425.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 488f; *TC*. 1354-C; *TSS*. 179.

[60] *Vide supra.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRAVANCORE ROYAL FAMIILY

(i) *Mārttaṇḍavarman*

The history of modern Travancore begins with king Mārttaṇḍavarman[1] who ascended the throne in 1729 A.D. The whole country was suffering at the hands of intriguing chieftains, and Mārttaṇḍavarman had to fight with a rival claimant to the throne before he could make his position secure at home. Then he turned his attention to the neighbouring states of Quilon, Kāyaṅkulam, Kottārakkara, Ampalappuḷa, Tekkuṅkūr and Vaṭakkuṅkūr; with the help of his able minister Rāmayyan Dalawa, he conquered them one by one and annexed them to his state. He defeated the Dutch at Colachel in 1741 A.D., and a treaty of mutual friendship was signed in 1748 A.D. Afterwards in 1750 he dedicated the entire state to Śrī Padmanābhasvāmin, the Deity of the temple at Trivandrum, agreeing to administer the affairs of the land as vice-regent of the Deity. He also started the sexennial festival called Murajapa, where learned Brahmins from all parts of Kerala came and recited the Vedas. This maker of modern Travancore passed away in 1758 A.D.

Mārttaṇḍavarman has been described as a great scholar; but he is not known to have written any work. He was certainly a generous patron of literature, and in his court flourished many of the scholars and poets of Kerala at that time. The scholar poet Rāmapāṇivāda,[2] Devarāja of Āśramam, the Malayalam poets Kuñcan Nambiyār, Rāmapurattu Vāriyar and Uṇṇāyi Vāriyar were the most important among the court poets of Mārttaṇḍavarman.

Devarāja was the son of Śeṣādri and belonged to Āśramam, a village near Śucīndram. He was the chief of the Pandits attached to the royal court. He is the author of the historical drama *Bālamārttaṇḍavijaya*[3] where he has portrayed his patron. In five acts it deals with the king's dedication of the entire realm to Lord Padmanābha of Trivandrum temple, preceded by the Mahābhiṣeka ceremony, and refers to many historical incidents connected with the life of the king. The king gave him the title *nava-Kālidāsa.* Devarāja was also a friend of the king's nephew Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman who ascended the throne in 1758 A.D.

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[1] On Mārttaṇḍavarman see T. K. Velu Pilla, *A History of Travancore*, S. R. Book Depot, Trivandrum, 1935.

[2] A separate chapter is devoted to Rāmapāṇivāda.

[3] *TSS*, 108.

Uṇṇāyi Vāriyar is the author of the Malayalam work *Nalacaritam Kathakali.* Some scholars identify him with Rāma Vāriyar, author of the Sanskrit Stotra work *Rāmapañcaśati,*[4] containing 500 verses in fifty decades, and written on the model of the *Nārāyaṇīya;* it describes the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* In the first and the last decades the Deity of the temple at Irinjālakkuḍa is praised. It is a fine devotional poem written in a dignified and scholarly style. According to some scholars the passage—परिणमेत् प्रसत्य. in the ninth verse of the 49th decade refers to the Kali date, equivalent to 1623 A.D. If that is accepted then the author of the Stotra cannot be a court poet of Mārttaṇḍavarman. In the Stotra itself there is no reference to Travancore or to King Mārttaṇḍavarman. There is a Sanskrit commentary on the Stotra by Tekkūṭṭu Rāman Nambiḍi, written at the instance of Śaṅkara Vāriyar of Akattūṭṭu Vāriyam, Irinjalākkuḍa; this belongs to the nineteenth century.[5] There is also a *Ṭippaṇī* on the work by Punnaśśeri Nīlakaṇṭha Śarman, who was the Principal of the Sanskrit College at Pattambi in the beginning of the twentieth century A.D.

Kṛṣṇaśarman, author of a Campū work called *Śrī Padmanābhacarita*[6] dealing with the story of the origin of the Padmanābha temple at Trivandrum, was also a protege of King Mārttaṇḍavarman. It was written at the instance of Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman, who was a prince at that time. The story follows that given in the *Anantaśayanakṣetramāhātmya.*

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[4] *TSS*, 164. On the problem of identity between Uṇṇāyi Vāriyar and the author of *Rāmapañcaśati,* see *Vijñānadipikā,* III, pp. 167ff; *KSC,* III, pp. 250ff; Introduction to *Rāmapañcaśati,* etc. About the name of the author, see the last verse in the 49th decade:

भवन्मालाकारो भजनविमलाकारकरणो-
ऽस्म्यहं रामो रामायणमभणमेवं तव पुरः ।
सुखं मालैवैतत् सरसपदपुष्पौघरचिता
जगन्मातुर्मोदं दिशतु सहवासात्तव हृदि ॥

[5] Published with the text, *TSS,* 164. According to Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, the author of the Stotra is identical with the author of the Malayalam work *Girijākalyāṇam,* but different from Uṇṇāyi Vāriyar.

[6] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC,* III, pp. 285 ff; *TP.* 1645.

On the same theme is the short poem *Padmanābhodaya*[7] in 142 verses by Śaṅku; it was also written at the instance of Prince Rāmavarman during the reign of Mārttaṇḍavarman.

(ii) *Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman*[8]

Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman was the nephew of Mārttaṇḍavarman. He was born in 1724 A.D., under the asterism Kārttika, and came to be known as Kārttika Tirunāl. His father was Keralavarman Koyil Tampurān of Kilimānūr, and mother Rāṇi Pārvatī Bhāyi. He became a scholar in Sanskrit and Malayalam, and attained proficiency in many other languages like Persian, Hindustani, Portuguese and English. He assisted his uncle in the war against the Dutch and against the kings of Kāyaṅkulam, Ampalappuḷa, Tekkuṅkūr and Vaṭakkuṅkūr. And on the death of Mārttaṇḍavarman in 1758 A.D., he ascended the throne. Ruling over the country for forty eventful years, he died in July, 1798 A.D.

Early in his reign he drove the Zamorin of Calicut from Cochin state, and compelled him to sue for peace, thus bringing to an end the centuries old enmity between Cochin and Calicut. For this Cochin had to surrender the Taluqs of Kunnattunāḍ, Ālaṅgāḍ, Parūr and Certtalay. Rāmavarman entered into a perpetual alliance with the Nawab of Arcot and the English East India Company. He performed the sixteen Mahādānas such as the Tulāpuruṣadāna. In 1766 he dedicated to God Padmanābha the territories surrendered by Cochin to Travancore. When his mother died in 1782, he went on a pilgrimage to Ramesvaram. In 1788 he had a Vedic sacrifice performed on a grand scale at Alwaye on the banks of the Periyar river.

But the most important event during his reign was the invasion of Kerala by Tippu Sultan of Mysore. Thousands of Hindus from Malabar fled to Travancore for shelter; the king gave protection to all the refugees. On 28th December 1789 Tippu was defeated and maimed for life; when he came again to wreak vengeance, there was a flood in the Periyar river, which arrested his advance, and soon the news that Lord Cornwallis had attacked his own capital Seringapatam made Tippu leave Kerala for ever. As the protector of the Hindu Dharma against the attacks of Tippu, Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja came to be known as Dharma Rāja.

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[7] *KSC,* III, p. 288.

[8] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Kerala Society Papers,* II-series 8; *KSC,* III, pp. 301 ff; Introduction to *Bālarāmabharata* (*TSS,* 118).

Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman was not only a strong and benevolent ruler; he was himself a poet and artist, and patronized art and literature.[9] He wrote the *Bālarāmabharata*, a standard work in Sanskrit on histrionic art, based on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In Malayalam he wrote several Kathakali works: *Rājasūyam*, *Bakavadham*, *Pāñcālīsvayaṁvaram*, *Kalyāṇasaugandhikam*, and *Gandharvavijayam*, all based on the *Mahābhārata*.

All the well known poets and scholars of the land flocked to his court. Among them were his own nephew Aśvati Tirunāl Rāmavarman Ilaya Tampurān, Sadāśiva Dīkṣita author of *Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa* and *Lakṣmīkalyāṇa*,[10] Kalyāṇa Subrahmaṇya author of the *Alaṅkārabhūṣaṇa*,[11] Subrahmaṇya author of the

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[9] See the following verses in *Bālarāmabharata* describing Trivandrum:

गहनपदपदार्थज्ञानविज्ञानदक्षै-
  रमरगुरुसमानैरर्थशास्त्रप्रवीणैः ।
सरसगुणकवीन्द्रैर्वाक्प्रसङ्गे विदग्धैः
  प्रतिदिनमतिरम्या शोभते राजधानी ॥
श्रुतिमुखरसगीतैर्वेणुवादैर्मनोज्ञैः
  चिरपरिचयहस्ताभ्यासतः प्राप्तभावैः ।
मदनरतिसमानैरद्भुताकारपात्रै-
  स्तकतकतकशब्दैस्तालमार्गानुकारैः ॥
नटनगतिविलासोल्लासचञ्चत्कटाक्षैः
  लयगतिमनुसृत्योद्घट्टिताङ्घ्रिप्रचारैः ।
सरसकरविलासैर्हावभावप्रकर्षैः
  जयति नृपसमाजो रङ्गलक्ष्मीनिवासः ॥

[10] *TP*. 1572-3. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, *Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa and Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇa, IA*, LIII (-924), pp. 1 ff.

[11] Seshagiri, *Report* II, pp. 80, 220.

Padmanābhavijaya,[12] the scholar Pantalam Subrahmaṇya Śāstri, Iṭaveṭṭikkāṭṭu Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri author of the *Rukmiṇīpariṇayacampū*,[13] a Brahmin who wrote the *Cātakasandeśa*,[14] the author of *Aśvatthakṣetrayajñya*,[15] and Princess Manoramā of the Zamorin's family. All these were Sanskrit scholars. Among the Malayalam poets patronized by the king were Kuñcan Nambiyār, Iṭṭirāriśśa Menon, and others.[16]

(iii) *Aśvati Tirunāl Rāmavarman*

Aśvati Tirunāl Rāmavarman[17] was born in 1755 A.D., under the asterism Aśvinī. His father was Ravivarman Koyil Tampurān of Killimānūr, author of the Malayalam Kathakali work *Kaṁsavadham*. The prince was given a sound education under the direction of his uncle Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja. Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa and Raghunāthatīrtha were his teachers.[18] In 1770 A.D., the prince married a lady of the Pālakkulaṅgara house in Trivandrum. In 1783 A.D., he accompanied his uncle to Rameśvara. He became the Yuvarāja in 1785, and died at the age of 38 in 1795 A.D.[19] This is all that we know definitely about his life.

Aśvati Tirunāl Rāmavarman wrote several works both in Sanskrit and in Malayalam. He is the author of the four Malayalam Kathakali works *Rukmiṇīsvayaṃvara*, *Pūtanāmokṣa*, *Ambarīṣacarita* and *Pauṇḍrakavadha*; the *Narakāsuravadha* is considered to be a joint work of Aśvati Tirunāl and his uncle Kārttika

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[12] *TP*. 1836.

[13] Published by K. Raman Nambiyar, with an introduction by Krangat Narayanan Nambutiri.

[14] *JRAS*, 1884, p. 451.

[15] *TP*, 1605.

[16] For details about these poets who wrote in Malayalam, see Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC*, III, pp. 308 ff.

It was Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja who introduced the dance recital called *Mohiniyāṭṭam* in Kerala on the model of the *Bharatanāṭya* in the Tamil country. (*Ibid*., p. 306).

[17] On this poet see Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, SPT, V, pp. 258 ff; *KSC*, III, pp. 312ff; Introduction to *Śṛṅgārasudhākara*: *JT*, 1-2.

[18] He refers to his teachers in the *Śṛṅgārasudhākara*:

श्रीमच्छङ्करनारायणगुरुचरणपरिचरणप्राप्तविद्यावैशद्येन श्रीमद्रघुनाथसुतीर्थाभिवादनजागरूकेण काव्यनाटकालोकनशौण्डैस्सवयस्कैर्वयस्यैरभ्यर्थितेन शृङ्गारसुधाकरं नाम भाणं विरचितम् ।

[19] Keith (SD, p. 247), following S. Konow (*Das indische Drama*, p. 100) gives his date wrongly as 1735-87.

Tirunāl Mahārāja. A short Malayalam Stotra named *Padmanābhakīrtana* is also attributed to him. The Kathakali works are specimens of "his powers as a musical composer, and of his artistic taste into the arrangement of incidents in a manner best suited for the development of Rasa."

Among his Sanskrit works the best known is the *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya*[20] which is a drama dealing with the winning of Rukmiṇi by Vāsubhadra Kṛṣṇa. In five acts it represents the story how Kṛṣṇa appears before Rukmiṇī, how he liberates her when the Sālva king has waylaid her, how her brother decides to give her away in marriage to Śiśupāla, and how Vāsubhadra finally takes her to Dvāraka. In the prologue of the drama in the Kavyamālā edition the author's name is given as Rāmavarman Yuvarāja, nephew of Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman Mahārāja. And it is generally accepted to be the *magnum opus* of the prince; but in a manuscript of the work in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,[21] this drama is ascribed to one Rāmaśarman, son of Śrīnivāsa Śarman, belonging to the Śrīvatsa gotra. Is it possible that Rāmaśarman was a poet in the court of Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja, who wrote the drama and attributed it to the prince for the sake of royal favour? We do not know anything about Rāmaśarman. An examination of the Kathakali works of Aśvati Tirunāl Rāmavarman shows that the prince was a great scholar in Sanskrit, and could have written the drama himself. It is very difficult to think that the Malayalam works were also written by this Rāmaśarman, who seems to have been a Tamil Brahmin.[22]

The other Sanskrit works of Aśvati Tirunāl Yuvarāja are the *Śṛṅgārasudhākara Bhāṇa*,[23] *Vañcimahārājastava*,[24] *Santānagopāla*,[25] *Kārttavīryavijaya*[26] and *Daśāvatāradaṇḍaka*.[27] The first is a typical Bhāṇa describing the life of libertines, the main sentiment being *śṛṅgāra.* The *Vañcimahārājastava* is a panegyric on his uncle Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja, written in the campū form. The *Santānagopāla* is a campū dealing with the story of Arjuna promising a Brahmin to protect his children, and with the help of Kṛṣṇa going to the abode of Viṣṇu and taking back the lost sons of the Brahmin. The *Kārttavīryavijaya* is also a Campū and describes the story of the victory of King Kārttavīryārjuna over Rāvaṇa; the story is taken from the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa;* The *Daśāvatāradaṇḍaka* deals with the different incarnations of Viṣṇu. Aśvati Tirunāl Yuvarāja is decidedly one of the best Sanskrit royal poets of Travancore. His diction is grand and stately, and reminds one of Bhavabhūti and Murāri.[28] He was the most outstanding among the poets who were in the court of Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja.

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[20] Kāvyamālā, 40.

[21] R 3360.

[22] On this problem see K. Kunjunni Raja, *Kairali*, XXX (1946), pp. 138ff.

[23] *JT*, 1-2.

[24] Published by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Kerala Society Papers*, II, series 8.

[25] Published by C. Unnikrishna Warriyar with Malayalam Translation.

[26] *TP*. 1619-20.

[27] *KSC*, III, p. 321.

(iv) *Court poets of Kārttika Tirunāl*

Sadāśiva Dīkṣita[29] was the son of Cokkanāthādhvarin and Mīnākṣi, and belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar has tentatively identified Sadāśiva's father with the commentator on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya.*[30] Sadaśiva Dīkṣita wrote a work on poetics entitled *Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa* "which is an exact reproduction of the *Pratāparudrīya* with regards to rules, definitions, and their explanatory notes classified under the same nine chapters, – but with the illustrative verses composed in praise of the Travancore king Rāmavarman."[31] He has inserted a model drama in this work in illustration of the various rules of dramaturgy. This is called *Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇa.* Though the hero of the drama is

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[28] Even his Kathakali works contain good Sanskrit verses like:

स्वैरं कैरवबन्धुबन्धुरकरश्रेणीकृपाणीलता-
लूनप्रौढतमस्तमालगहने हालां पिबन् मोहने ।
माद्यत्कोकिलकामिनीकलवचोवाचालिताशान्तरे
रेमे रैवतकाचले सह वधूजालेन नीलाम्बरः ॥

(*Pauṇḍrakavadham*)

[29] A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, *Rāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇam and Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇam, IA,* LIII (1924), pp. 1 ff.

[30] On Cokkanātha, see also K. Kunjunni Raja, ALB, X, p. 114ff

[31] A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, *loc. cit.*

King Rāmavarman of Travancore, it has very little value historically. The story of this five-act play is as follows:

Vasulakṣmī wants to marry King Rāmavarman whose fame she has heard much; but her mother intends to make her nephew, the prince of Ceylon, her son-in-law. Vasulakṣmī is sent to Ceylon on some pretext, but the barge is stranded on the shores of Travancore, and Vasurāja, the king's brother-in-law, sends her to the palace. Rāmavarman falls in love with the beautiful princess; but the jealous queen arranges to give her in marriage to her cousin, the Pāṇḍya king. But Rāmavarman, with the help of Vidūṣaka, receives the bride in the guise of the Pāṇḍya king. The king of Sindhu, father of Vasulaksmī, comes there in time, and the marriage of the heroine with Rāmavarman is celebrated to the satisfaction of all. Perhaps the marriage of Rāmavarman and Vasulaksmī which is the main theme of the drama may be indicative of the king's becoming very rich.

There is another drama called *Lakṣmīkalyāṇa*[32] dealing with the story of the marriage of Lakṣmī, Goddess of wealth, and Viṣṇu. This is also a work of Sadāśiva Dīkṣita.[33]

Kalyāṇa Subrahmaṇya is the author of *Alaṅkārakaustubha*,[34] which is a work on poetics on the model of the *Kuvalayānanda* dealing with figures of speech pertaining to meaning. He illustrates the figures of speech by verses composed by himself in praise of his patron King Rāmavarman, and of the king's family Deity, Lord Padmanābha of the Trivandrum temple. Kalyāṇa Subrahmaṇya was the son of Subrahmaṇya and the grandson of Gopāla, and belonged to the Peruru family.[35] M. Krishnamachariar identifies him with the author of the *Padmanābhavijaya* and with Pantalam Subrahmaṇya Sastri;[36] but there is no evidence for such identifications. Seshagiri Sastri's view that Kalyāna Subrahmanya flourished under the successor of Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja is not correct.

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[32] *TP*, 1572-3.

[33] *HCSL*, p. 803.

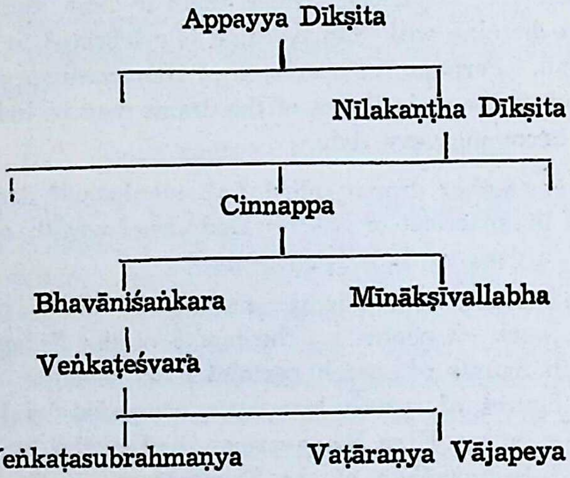
[34] Seshagiri, *Report*, II, pp. 80, 220.

[35] See colophon:

श्रीमत्पेरुकुलजलधिचन्द्रश्रीरामचन्द्रचरणारविन्दमिलिन्दायमानगोपालविपश्चित्पौत्रेण सुब्रह्मण्यसुधीमणिपुत्रेण कल्याणसुब्रह्मण्यसूरिणा विरचिते अलङ्कारकौस्तुभे संसृष्टिप्रकरणम्

[36] *HCSL*, p. 804.

Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇya gives an account of his genealogy in the prologue to his drama *Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇa.*[37] He was a descendent of the famous Appayya Dīkṣita. Appayya had three sons of whom Nīlakaṇṭha was the youngest; he had eleven sons; of these the third Cinnamappāddhvarin had two sons Bhavānīśaṅkara and Mīnākṣīvallabha. Bhavanīśaṅkara's son Veṅkaṭeśvara Makhin was the father of the poet Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇya. The author speaks of four of his ancestors Nīlakaṇṭha, Cinnamappaya, Veṅkaṭeśvara and Prabhākara Dīkṣita as the authors of the dramas *Nalacarita, Umāpariṇaya, Uṣāharaṇa* and *Hariścandrānanda* respectively. It is also stated that his student was the scholar Vaṭāraṇya Vājapeya, who was also his younger brother.[38]



The *Vasulakṣmīkalyāṇa* of Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇya is similar to the drama of the same name by Sadāśiva Dīkṣita. In five acts it describes the story of the marriage of King Rāmavarman of Travancore with Vasulakṣmī, princess of Sindhu. The minister Bud-

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37. *TP.* 1576. See also A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, *loc. cit.*

38. This genealogy tallies with the account given by Yājñeśa śarman in his *Tyāgarājavijaya* (Printed Tanjore, 1904).

अप्पय्याध्वरिणः सुतेषु चरमः श्रीनीलकण्ठाध्वरी
तत्पुत्रेषु दशाधिकेष्वपि तृतीयश्चिन्नमप्पाध्वरी ।
तस्माच्चापि भवानिशङ्करमखी ज्येष्ठो गुणैरप्यभूत्
तस्यैकोऽजनि वेङ्कटेश्वरमखी यस्याद्यसूनुः कविः ॥

(*Vasulakṣmī Kalyāṇa*)

dhisāgara who is anxious that the king should marry the Sindhu princess so that the political influence of Travancore may extend northwards, receives the news of her voyage to Ceylon, and manages with the help of the Hūṇa fleet to waylay her ship in Travancore waters. Vasumān, the minister's brother-in-law, who is the officer in command of the sea coast, sends the captive princess to the royal court. The king falls in love with her, and meets her in the royal pleasure garden; the jealous queen tries to remove her rival by marrying her to the Cera prince Vasuvarman; but the plot fails as the king and the Vidūṣaka, impersonate the Cera prince and his friend. At last the queen gives her consent for the marriage. This story is just like that of Sadāśiva Dīkṣita's drama, and has no historical importance. The reference to Hūṇarāja may be to the English East India Company. The date of composition of the play must be 1785 A.D., as one of the manuscripts of it says that it was composed in the year *Viśvāvasu.*[39]

Subrahmaṇya, author of the *Padmanābhavijaya,* was the son of Rāmaliṅga and Kokilāmbā and flourished in the court of Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja.[40] He seems to have been a Tamil Brahmin. The *Padmanābhavijaya* is a poem in eight cantos describing the exploits of the king, and the greatness of Trivandrum and Padmanābhapuram; laudatory verses about the Deity of the Padmanābha temple at Trivandrum are also found. The introductory verse describes Lord Gaṇapati as enjoying the company of his wife.[41]

Pantalam Subrahmaṇya Śāstri is well known in Kerala, though he is not known to have written any work. He belonged to Pantalam in Travancore. He was an authority in grammar, having studied *Śabdenduśekhara* from Benaras. He taught *Naiṣadhīyacarita* to Ārūr Mādhavan Aṭitiri, author of the *Uttaranaiṣadha*, who refers to him in that poem. Some of his stray verses are quite popular in Kerala.[42]

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[39] See colophon of the manuscript *TP,* 1576:

वसुलक्ष्मीकल्याणं प्रेक्षणमङ्कैर्युतं चतुःषष्ट्या ।
व्यरचि मयेदं कुतुकात् विश्वावसुवत्सरे वसन्ततौ ॥

The year named *Viśvāvasu* occurred only once during Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman's reign, and it was 1785 A.D.

[40] *TP,* 1836; *HCSL,* p. 408; Introduction to *Bālarāmabharata; KSC,* III, p. 460. See the colophon at the end of each canto:

सुब्रह्मण्यबुधं सदाशिवगुरुब्रह्मप्रसादस्फुरद्धियोऽसूत स रामलिङ्गविबुधः श्रीकोकिलाम्बा च यम् ।
काव्ये तेन कृतेऽत्र साङ्गविभवे श्रीरामचन्द्रप्रभुश्रेयःसद्मनि पद्मनाभविजये..........॥

[41] *Vide supra.*

Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri Iṭaveṭṭikkāṭ is the author of the *Rukmiṇīsvayaṁvara Campū*[43] which is accepted to be one of the classical Campūkāvyas in Kerala, standing almost on a par with the Campū works of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. Rāmavarman, Parīkṣit Tampurān of Cochin, has written a learned commentary on this work, named *Bhāvadīpikā*. Another short Campū work called *Rukmāṅgadacarita* is also attributed to Nārāyaṇa.[44] It is said that he had an elder brother named Tuppan who was a famous astrologer and a scholar. Many stray verses of Nārāyaṇa most of them eulogizing the king of Travancore, are very popular in Kerala:[45]

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[42] e.g.

पुंसामर्थ उपोत्तमे प्रभवितुर्गोप्तुर्महत्यादरे
सौजन्याकरवैदुषीनिलयसंलापे च नार्घो मितः ।
तेष्वाद्याविह संसृतौ वितरतः प्रायेण नः सौहिती-
मन्यस्मात्तु चिरादपि प्रणयिनस्तां दुर्लभां मन्महे ॥

[43] Published by K. Raman Nambiyar

[44] *KSC*, III, pp. 470 ff.

[45] e.g.

"सुमधुरमधरनिपीड्यं सुखनिद्रासादकृच्च संभोक्तुः ।
मृदु वहिरन्तः कठिनं कमनीकमनीयमेतदाम्रफलम् ॥ "
(On the mango fruit)

"पार्वतीफणिवालेन्दुभस्ममन्दाकिनीयुता ।
अपवर्गप्रदा मूर्तिः कथं स्यात्तव शङ्कर ॥"
"राजा किमिन्दुरपि नार्यभिमानहारी
नक्षत्रपो नवसुधाभिषवैकहेतुः ॥ "
नालीकभञ्जकृदतीव नदीनवन्धुः
राजा परं विजयते भुवि रामवर्मा ।
"कंसीकृत्य दिवं भुवं तुलितवानाधाय धाता तयो-
स्स्वामिन्द्रं च परीक्षितुं कृतमतिर्द्यौस्तावदूर्ध्वं गता ।
देवानप्सरसः सुरद्रुममपि प्रक्षिप्य यात्रानता-
वध क्ष्मातलतो बहून् सुकृतिनोप्युज्जीय विन्यस्यति ॥"

Another well-known poet of the court of Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja is the Brahmin from Tirumāndhānkunnu in Malabar, who is the author of the *Cātakasandeśa,*[46] one unique feature of which is that it has nothing to do with the usual theme of love. When Tippu invaded Malabar, the Brahmin took refuge in Travancore. He had an interview with the Mahārāja; but was obliged to leave Padmanābhapuram on account of sudden illness. The poem was written after recovery, for submitting to the king praying for patronage. It contains several verses in praise of the king, and ends with a prayer for some maintenance allowance. It is a short poem of 141 verses, divided into two parts. In the first part there are references to Bhāratappuḻa, Camravaṭṭam, Tirunāvāya, Trichur, Perumanam, Irinjalakkuda, Koṭungallur and the fort Neṭunkoṭṭa, Chendamangalam where the king of Cochin was staying at that time, Trippunitura, Vaikkam, Ampalappuḻa, Harippāḍ, Kāyankulam, Quilon and Varkkala. The description of Trivandrum and Padmanābhapura is in the second part. While describing Certtala, he refers to the prevalence of elephantiasis there.[47]

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, author of the *Varṇanāsārasaṅgraha*[48] was also a descendent of Appayya Dīkṣita like Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇya, and flourished in the court of Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman of Travancore. He was the son of Appayya Dīkṣita (II) and Kāmākṣī. He was also known as Ayyā Dīkṣita, and received

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"शीतार्ता इव सङ्कुचन्ति दिवसा न ह्यम्बरं शर्वरी
शीघ्रं मुञ्चति, सोऽपि हन्त हुतभुक्कोणं गतो भानुमान् ।
त्वं चानङ्गहुताशभाजि हृदये शातोदरीणां गतो
राजन् किं करवाम सांप्रतमहो शीताभिभूता वयम् ॥"

[46] *JRAS*, 1884, p. 451; *KSC*, III, pp. 468 ff.

[47] पेयं हन्त प्रकृतिमधुरं नारिकेलाम्बु नृणां
आहारश्चाप्यभिमततरः सैकते स्वैरचारः ।
तत्रस्थानां सुखविहृतये किञ्चिदेवेति मन्ये
पादद्वन्द्वे भवति गणितैर्यद्दिनैः श्लीपदाङ्कः ॥

[48] A complete manuscript is in the Adyar Library; on that see Dr. V. Raghavan, "Manuscripts Notes", *ALB*, V-3, pp. 125-8. M. Krishnamachariar wrongly identifies him with the commentator on *Tripuradahana* (*HCSL*, p. 387). See also *ALB*, XI-3, pp. 212ff.

For a detailed analysis of the work see Dr. Raghavan, *loc. cit.*

the title *Prabandhasāgara* from the king.[49] His *Varṇanāsārasaṅgraha* is an anthology of verses culled from various sources; it contains verses from Uddaṇḍa Śāstri and Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa besides other south Indian poets like Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita; and there are verses praising the kings of Cochin, Ampalappuḻa etc.

Princess Manoramā of the Zamorin's family was a royal guest in Travancore and received the patronage of Kārttika Tirunāl Mahārāja.[50]

(v) *Svāti Tirunāl*

Svāti Tirunāl Rāmavarma Mahārāja of Travancore,[51] also known as *Garbhaśrīman*, was born in 1813 A.D. as the son of Rāṇi Lakṣmī Bhāyi and Rājarājavarma Valiya Koyil Tampurān of Caṅṅanāśśeri, and inherited the throne even while in the womb of his mother. He studied English under Subba Rao, who was later made the Dewan of Travancore. Rāmavarman was a well known linguist: he was a good scholar in Sanskrit and Malayalam; he knew English quite well, and was familiar with Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Hindustani. He was very much interested in music, and made a special study of the subject.

When General Cullen was appointed Resident of the State in 1840 A. D., the king found it hard to carry on the administration of the country in the face of great opposition from the Resident. This made him discontented with worldy affairs, and gradually he became completely indifferent to the administration of the country. He devoted most of his time in composing literary works. Unfortunately he did not live long; he died at the age of 34 in 1847 A.D.

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[49] See the colophon:

इति श्रीमद्भारद्वाजकुलजलधिकौस्तुभश्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितवंश्येन अप्पय्यदीक्षितात्मजेन कामाक्षीगर्भसंभवेन नानादेशस्थितनानाश्लोकसंग्राहकेण श्रीवञ्चिमहीमहेन्द्र श्रीरामवर्ममहाराजदत्तप्रबन्धसागराभिधानेन श्रीनीलकण्ठदीक्षितेन ।

[50] On Manoramā see p. 114 f.

[51] V. Sankara Iyer and V. Veṇkaṭarama Sarma Mahārāja Svāti Tirunāl's contribution to the Literature and Art of Kerala, *POC*, Trivandrum; Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, "A South Indian Maharaja", *Malabar Quarterly Review;* Introduction to *Padmanābhaśataka*, *JT*, 1-2.

Among the Sanskrit works of Svāti Tirunāl Mahārāja are the *Bhaktimañjarī*,[52] *Padmanābhaśataka*,[53] *Syānandūrapuravarṇanaprabandha*,[54] *Ajāmilopākhyāna*, *Kucelopākhyāna*[55] and the *Saṅgītakṛtis*.[56] He has also written a Malayalam work named *Utsavaprabandha*.

The *Bhaktimañjarī* is a devotional poem written on the model of the *Nārāyaṇīya* of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. It is divided into ten *śatakas*, each of which is written in a different metre. In the first four centuries the superiority of the path of devotion to the other paths for the attainment of the fourfold aims of life is established by arguments based on reason, authoritative statements, and Purāṇic stories. This *Bhakti-mārga* is classified into nine kinds, and illustrated with Purāṇic stories taken mainly from the *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Ganapati Sastri has suggested that it might have been composed towards the close of the author's life.

The *Syānandūrapuravarṇana* of Svāti Tirunāl is a Campū Kāvya, divided into ten sections called *Stabakas*, which describes the story of the origin of the temple at Trivandrum, and the annual festival there. The first chapter describes the worship of the sage named Divākara; God manifests Himself before him in the form of a boy; after some time Divākara becomes a little angry at the pranks of the child; then suddenly the boy disappears. The second chapter deals with Divākara's search after God whom at last he finds at Anantavana. In the third *Stabaka* there is a description of God Padmanābha. The next two sections deal with the *Pratiṣṭhā* of the Deity in the temple there. The following four *Stabakas* describe the annual festival *Utsava* in the temple. The festival of the *Lakṣadīpa* (One hundred thousand lamps) is described in the last chapter. The poet has taken the story of the origin of the temple from the *Anantapuramāhātmya*.

The *Padmanābhaśataka* is a century of verses in praise of God Padmanābha of the temple at Trivandrum. It is divided into ten decades, each having a different metre. It summarizes the story of the *Bhāgavata*, and advocates the path of devotion. The influence of the *Nārāyaṇīya* is clearly seen here also. The *Ajāmilamokṣa* and the *Kucelopākhyāna* are two small musical works written in the *Harikathākālakṣepa* style; in each case the story is taken from the *Bhāgavata*.

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[52] Published by the Government of Travancore, 1904.

[53] *JT*, I and II.

[54] Published by the Government of Travancore, 1920

[55] *TSS*, 112.

[56] *TSS*, 113.

Svāti Tirunāl is most famous for his musical compositions.[57] He has written them in Sanskrit, Malayalam, Hindustani, Kannada, Telugu and Mahratti. The Sanskrit *Saṅgītakṛtis* include all varieties like *Kīrtanas, Padas, Varṇas, Tillanas* and *Prabandhas*. His songs are valuable from the musical, as well as literary, point of view. Mostly they are written in praise of some Deity. As a musical composer Svāti Tirunāl ranks with the other masters of Carnatic music like Tyāgarāja and Muttusvāmi Dīkṣitar.

Svāti Tirunāl was also a patron of literature and art. Malayalam poets like Kilimānūr Vidvān Koyil Tampurān, and Irayimman Tampi, and musicians like Merusvāmi of Tanjore and Vaṭivelu adorned his court.

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[57] The musical works of Svāti Tirunāl in different languages have been collected and published with an introduction by the late K. Chidambara Vaddhyar, Trivandrum, 1916. The late Gāyakaśikhāmaṇi Dr. L. Muthiah Bhagavatar has published some of them with musical notations in two volume, from Trivandrum, 1943.

CHAPTER IX

RĀMAPĀṆIVĀDA

Rāmapāṇivāda was a great scholar and poet who flourished in Kerala in the eighteenth century A.D. and adorned the courts of many of the kings and chieftains of the land at that time. A prolific writer both in Sanskrit and in Prakrit, he has to his credit several works of outstanding merit covering almost all branches of general literature.

(i) *Personal Details*

It is possible to gather from his own works some details about the life and works of Rāmapāṇivāda. His *Candrikā Vīthī*[1] was written on the occasion of the Śivarātri festival at Tripraṅgoṭ temple at the instance of King Vīrarāya of Veṭṭattunāḍ. Another Vīthī called *Līlāvatī*[2] was composed by him at the request of King Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḻa. He wrote the drama called *Sītārāghava* at Trivandrum, when he was enjoying the patronage of King Mārttāṇḍavarman, the maker of modern Travancore.[3] The

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[1] *TC.* 1332b. Published by K. Rama Pisharoti, *BRI*, III (1934). The prologue says:

अथ खलु प्रकाशराज्यप्रकाशभूतस्य......श्रीवीररायमहाराजस्याज्ञया श्रीपरक्कोडनामक्षेत्रमधिवसतः......भगवतः श्रीपरमेश्वरस्य माघकृष्णचतुर्दशीमहोत्सवप्रसङ्गेन संगतायामस्यां परिषदि मङ्गलग्रामवास्तव्येन रामपाणिवादेन विरचितां चन्द्रिकां नाम वीथिकामभिनेतुमभिलषामः ।

[2] *TC.* 1332a. See the prologue there:

आज्ञापितोऽस्मि..............अम्बरधुनीनाथपरिचरणपरायणस्य महादेवदेवनारायणस्य पादपद्मोपजीविना महीसुरसमाजेन । अस्ति मंगलग्रामवास्तव्यस्य राघवपाणिवस्य भागिनेयो रामो नाम पाणिवादः । यः पुराणमहीसुरवरिष्ठस्य प्रियमित्रमिति श्रूयते ॥

[3] *T.* 652. A part published in Sāhityaratnāvali Series, Trichur. The whole work is now published in *TSS*. See the following passage from the prologue:

अस्ति स्यानन्दूरं जयति जगतीपालनपरं
परंज्योतिः शीतद्युतिधवलशेषाहिशयनम् ।
यदन्तः सन्तन्वन्निखिलनृपतीनां न तु परं
पुराणामप्युच्चैरधिवसति मार्तण्डनृपतिः ॥

Mahākāvya called *Viṣṇuvilāsa*[4] was written by him under the patronage of the Pāliyat Accan named Rāmakubera, a wealthy chieftain of Chennamangalam. The *Mukundaśataka*[5] was written under the patronage of Ārya Śrīkaṇṭha Rāmavarma, identified with a member of the Manakkulam family near Kunnamkulam. Thus it is quite clear from Rāmapaṇivāda's own works that he was a great favourite with kings and chieftains of the land.

As the term 'Pāṇivāda' indicates, Rāmapāṇivāda belonged to the Pāṇivāda[6] or the Nambiyār community, a section of the Ampalavāsi community of Kerala whose profession is to help the Cākyārs (the actors) in the staging of Sanskrit dramas by playing on the drum called *milāvu*. Rāma was his personal name. He had an uncle named Rāghava,[7] who was also an erudite scholar. Rāmapāṇivāda was the pupil of one Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa who is mentioned

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तत्र तावत्....द्रव्यसंपूरितस्यानन्दूरमन्दिरेण सर्वात्मना पद्मनाभसमर्पितसमस्तनिजविभवेन सर्वसामन्तकुलमुकुटमणिमरीचिवीचीनीराजितचरणकमलेन इदानीन्तनेन राज्ञा वञ्चिमार्तण्डेन सकलदिगन्तेभ्यः समाहूय समधिष्ठापितानां समधीतवेदशास्त्राणां........ब्राह्मणवरिष्ठानां अतिगरिष्ठां गोष्ठीमपहाय क नामेदमभिनेतव्यम् ॥

[4] *R.* 3442; *T.* 269; *TSS.* 164. The following verses gives the details about its composition:

श्रीमद्रामकुबेरनाम सुमतिश्रीपालियश्रीपति-
प्रीतिस्फीततमोद्यमेन कलितं केनापि नानारसम् ।
काव्यं विष्णुविलासनाम कमलाजानेः कथावर्णनं
पूर्णं हन्त जयन्तमङ्गलमहाविष्णोः कृपानुग्रहात् ॥

[5] Published in JT, I & II. Verse 107 shows that it was written at the instance of King Ārya Śrīkaṇṭha Rāmavarman:

श्रीरामवर्मनृपतिर्मतिमान् यदार्य-
श्रीकण्ठवंशकलशाम्बुधिपूर्णचन्द्रः ।
केनापि कामदमचीकमदीदृशं त-
न्मौकुन्दमस्तु शतकं जगतां हिताय ॥

Dr. A. N. Upadhye identified this Rāmavarman with Muriyāṭṭu Nambiyar of Mukundapuram Taluq (Introduction to *Kaṁsavaho*, p. xvi); but Kunhan Raja has shown that Ārya Śrīkaṇṭha belonged to the Manakkulam family (Introduction to *Mayūrasandeśa*, *POS*, p. xlii).

[6] Also referred to as *Pāṇigha*.

[7] *cf.*

अस्ति मङ्गलग्रामवास्तव्यस्य राघवपाणिघस्य भागिनेयो रामो नाम पाणिवादः ।”

Līlāvatī Vīthī.

in respectful terms in almost all his works.[8] There has been some confusion among scholars regarding this Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and the great Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Melputtūr.[9] But the mention of King Mārttāṇḍavarman of Travancore in the *Sītārāghava* settles that point definitely. Rāmapāṇivāda says that King Mārttāṇḍavarman was the reigning monarch at the time when the play was written. He also refers to the learned assembly of Brahmins come for the Murajapa festival;[10] this reference must be to the Murajapa held in 1755 A.D., as king Mārttāṇḍavarman died before the next. This clearly shows that Rāmapāṇivāda lived in the eighteenth century A.D., and could not have been the student of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa who died before 1650 A.D. Moreover, when Rāmapāṇivāda refers to Melputtūr in the commentary on the *Dhātukāvya*, it is only as a great poet, and not as his teacher.[11]

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[8] श्रीनारायणभट्टपादगुरुपादानां प्रसादोदया-
देतत् किञ्चन राघवीयमिति यत्काव्यं कृतं केनचित् ।

colophon to Rāghavīya.

करोतु नारायणभट्टदेशिकप्रसादनिर्दोषतुषारदीधितिः ।
मदन्तरिन्दूपलमुक्तिमाधुरीझरीपरिष्यन्दितयातिसुन्दरम् ॥

Viṣṇuvilāsa.

श्रीनारायणभट्टपादकरुणापीयूषगण्डूषणा-
    दिष्टां पुष्टिमुपैति यस्य कविताकल्पद्रुबीजाङ्कुरः ।
रामो नाम स पाणिवादकुलजस्तस्य प्रभूतं फलं
    सीताराघवनाटकाभिधमिमं सभ्यार्थमभ्यानयत् ॥

Sītārāghava.

श्रीनारायणगुरवश्चरणजुषे रामपाणिवादाय ।
प्रदिशन्तु शान्तमतयः प्रतिभां विद्वत्समासेव्याम् ॥

Madanaketucarita.

श्रीनारायणभट्टपादगुरुपादानां कृपानुग्रहः
श्रीकृष्णस्य कथां कथापयति यं चम्पूप्रबन्धात्मिकाम् ।

Bhāgavatacampū.

श्रीनारायणगुरुवरकरुणापात्रेण पाणिवादेन ।
श्रीकृष्णविलासस्य क्रियते टीका विलासिनी नाम ॥

Commentary on *Kṛṣṇavilāsa.*

[9] Preface to *Vṛttavārttika* (*TSS.* 131); Introduction to *Rāghavīya* (*TSS.* 146), p. 21.

[10] See above.

[11] श्रीनारायणनामकोपरिनवग्रामस्वधामाधिप-
क्षोणीदेवकविप्रकाण्डरचितं यद्धातुकाव्यं शुभम् ।

Some scholars identify Rāmapāṇivāda's preceptor Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa with a member of the Tṛkkāramaṇ family near Killikkurissimaṅgalam on the basis of an alleged tradition.[12] Some others identify him with Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Tekkeṭattu family, who was the minister of King Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḷa. In the *Līlāvatī Vīthī* Rāmapāṇivāda refers to a Brahmin scholar[13] who was held in high esteem by King Devanārāyaṇa. There is also a reference to one Paḷeṭattu Bhaṭṭatiri (*Purāṇa-mahīsura-variṣṭha*);[14] but he is described as an intimate friend of Rāmapāṇivāda, not as his teacher. It is quite possible that Rāmapāṇivāda's preceptor was Tekkeṭattu Bhaṭṭatiri, though there is no conclusive evidence in support of the identification.[15]

(ii) *Rāmapāṇivāda and Kuñcan Nambiyār*

There has been a controversy regarding the identity of Rāmapāṇivāda with the well-known Malayalam poet Kuñcan Nambiyār.[16]. Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, M. R. Balakrishna Warrier, Dr. A. N. Upadhye and Dr. L. A. Ravivarma are in favour of this identification. But others like Dr. K. Godavarma, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai and Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rajarajavarma Raja are against such an identification. Both Rāmapāṇivāda and Kuñcan Nambiyār belonged to the same Nambiyār community, and both of them flourished in the courts of the kings of Ampalappuḷa and Travancore. Both of them were contemporaries. We do not know the personal name of Kuñcan Nambiyār; 'Kuñcan' is the popular pet name of the Malayalam poet. Moreover, both seem to have been members of the same family: Kuñcan Nambiyār belonged to Kalakkattu house in the village of Kiḷḷikkuriśśimaṅgalam, near the present Lakkidi Railway station; and Rāmapāṇivāda has stated that he belonged to the Maṅgalagrāma.[17] Though there is a Maṅgalagrāma in Veṭṭattunāḍu,[18] the one referred to by Rāmapāṇivāda could be identical with Kiḷḷikkuriśśimaṅgalam itself. But the fact that both poets belonged to the same house and were almost contemporaries need not necessarily prove that they are identical.

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[12] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Vijnānadīpikā*, I, p. 193; *KSC*. III, p. 358.

[13] नित्यं नृत्यति यस्य नाम रसनारङ्गे स्वयं भारती
चित्ते यस्य च भासते सुरधुनीनाथो रथाङ्गायुधः ।
यं भूयो बहुमन्यते नरपतिः श्रीदेवनारायणः
सोऽयं मे हृदये चकास्तु सततं भूदेवचूडामणिः ॥

[14] "यः पुराणमहीसुरवरिष्ठस्य प्रियमित्रमिति श्रूयते ।"

[15] For a discussion of the problem of identity of this Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, see Introduction to *Mukundaśataka*, *JT*, II, Part ii, pp. xvi-xvii.

[16] On this problem see: Ullur, *Vijñānadīpikā*, I, pp. 174ff; III, pp. 159ff; *KSC*, III, pp. 359ff; M. R. Balakrishna Warrier, *Kuñcan Nambiyār*, Trivandrum, 1934; *Sahṛdaya*. I, pp. 252ff; Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Introduction to *Kaṁsavaho*, pp. xiv-xviii; Dr. L. A. Ravivarma, Introduction to *Rāghavīya*, *TSS*, No. 146; Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Introduction to *Usāniruddha*, *ALS*, No. 42, pp. xxii-xxxii; Dr. K. Godavarma, *Sahṛdaya*, I, pp. 21ff, 588ff; Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, Introduction to *Viṣṇuvilāsa*, *TSS*, No. 164; V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *Bhāṣāpoṣiṇī*, vol. 33 (1929), pp. 249ff, 281ff, 326ff; R. Narayana Panikkar, *KBSC*, IV.

Rāmapāṇivāda, the Sanskrit poet, mentions his teacher Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in almost all his genuine works; and the colophons of these works attribute them to Rāmapāṇivāda. But Kuñcan Nambiyār, author of the Tullal works in Malayalam, does not refer to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in any of his works. On the other hand, he mentions two other teachers of his: Droṇampilli Poṭṭi and Nandikkara Bālaravi Kurup, neither of whom is referred to by Rāmapāṇivāda. There is great difference between the style of Rāmapāṇivāda, which is correct, chaste and lucid, and the style of Kuñcan Nambiyār which is rather indifferent in grammar, boisterously witty and full of topical anachronisms.

We have already seen that Rāmapāṇivāda was patronized by the king of Veṭṭattunāḍ, the chieftain Pāliyat Accan, the king of Ampalappuḷa, king Ārya Śrīkaṇṭha Rāmavarman of Manakkulam, and king Mārttaṇḍavarman of Travancore. Only two of these find mention in the Malayalam works of Kuñcan Nambiyār, namely, the kings of Ampalappuḷa and Travancore.[19] The two Malayalam works, *Śivapurāṇa* and *Ekādaśimāhātmya*, generally attributed to Kuñcan Nambiyār[20] were written under the patronage of the chieftain Manakkoṭ Accan named Bālarāma; this Manakkoṭ Accan flourished only till 1740 A.D. when his property was confiscated by the king of Cochin, and presented to the Pāliyat Accan. Hence these two works must be assigned to a date earlier than 1740 A.D. It is said that some manuscripts of these two works, as well as those of *Śrīkṛṣṇacarita* and *Pañcatantra*, contain colophons attributing them to Rāmapāṇivāda. It is doubtful whether we can attribute all these works to one Rāma on the basis of some stray colophons.

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[17] "मङ्गलग्रामवास्तव्येन रामपाणिवादेन" Prologue to *Candrikā Vīthī.*

[18] K. Rama Pisharoti, Introduction to *Candrikā Vīthī*, p. 1.

[19] Introduction to *Uṣāṇiruddha*, pp. xxviii f.

[20] Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Śivapurāṇa*, *SPT*, XI, part I; *KSC*, III, p. 385.

We know that in Kalakkattu family at that time there were two Rāmas and one Kṛṣṇa: the great Sanskrit scholar Rāmapāṇivāda had a younger brother named Kṛṣṇa, and a nephew named Rāma. Of these, Kṛṣṇa died in 1780 A.D.[21] It is quite possible that Kuñcan Nambiyār is identical with any of these two. In the Tullal work *Ghoṣayātrā* Kuñcan Nambiyār quotes a verse from the *Līlāvatī Vīthī*,[22] and annotates it at length; this suggests that he was a younger contemporary of Rāmapāṇivāda.

Much light is thrown on the life and works of Rāmapāṇivāda by the following verses found on a folio of a palmleaf manuscript of the *Bālabhārata*[23] belonging to the Kalakkattu house:—

वर्तन्ते कलमङ्गलाख्यभवने ये नामतो मङ्गले
देशे श्रीशुकमन्दिरेश्वरकृपाभाजोऽनघाः पाणिघाः ।
तेषां सम्यगधीतिनां कृतधियां शास्त्रे तथा भारते
ग्रन्थोऽयं भुवि बालभारतमिति प्रख्यातनामा महान् ॥

दद्युर्नारायणाख्यादधिगतविततव्याकृतो भट्टपादा-
दुद्यद्देवापगाधीश्वरभजनधियः सन्ततं शान्तचित्ताः ।
उद्योतद्वञ्चिभूमीश्वरगुरुकरुणाभाजनं देशिकास्ते
सद्यः शुद्धिं दधाना हृदि पदरजसा सर्वदा मङ्गलं नः ॥

योऽसौ विष्णुविलासनाम कृतवान् काव्यं तथा प्राकृतं
काव्यं कंसवधाभिधं गुणयुतं तद्राघवीयं तथा ।
पश्चात्तद्वदुषानिरुद्धमपरं वीथीद्वयं नाटकं
सीताराघवमेव च प्रदिशतान्मह्यं गुरुर्मङ्गलम् ॥

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[21] *KSC*, III, p. 350.

[22] गोष्ठी सा विरला न यत्र घटते सत्ता पुरोभागिनां
नारी सा खलु दुर्लभा न कुसृतिश्लिष्टं यदीयं मनः ।
दुष्प्रापं च तदम्बु नीरजरजो राजन् न यद् दूषयेत्
दुस्साधं च सुखन्तदा विलयते दुःखानुवृत्तिर्न यत् ॥

[23] Quoted in *KSC*, III, 347f. Another Malayalam verse found in the same manuscript says that it was written by Rāma in 1765 A.D.

प्राकृतवृत्तिं तद्वत् श्रीकृष्णविलासकाव्यविवृत्तिं च ।
कृतवानन्यानपि यः स जयेत् श्रीरामपाणिवादकविः ॥
तालप्रस्तारशास्त्रं च सद्वृत्तो वृत्तवार्तिकम् ।
तद्वत्प्रहसनं किंचित् कृतवान् राममातुलः ॥

……………………………

क्षोणीदेवक्षितीशो निजमिव तनयं देवनारायणाख्यो
वाल्ये यं लालयित्वा विधिवदथ परं शास्त्रमध्यापयित्वा ।
संरक्षन् यत्कुटुम्वं द्रविणवितरणात् कामितं साधयित्वा
स्नेहेनापालयन्मे दिनमनु स गुरुः श्रेयसे वोभवीतु ॥

If we can accept the authenticity of these verses, they will be of much use in solving some of the problems connected with Rāmapāṇivāda. These verses are written in 1765 A.D. by one Rāman Nambiyār who is a nephew of the famous scholar Rāmapāṇivāda. They clearly state that Rāmapāṇivāda belonged to the Kalakkattu (Kalamaṅgala) house in the village of Maṅgalam, and that he was a member of the Nambiyār community, and very much devoted to the Deity of Kiḷḷikkuriśśimaṅgalam. It is also noted that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was Rāmapāṇivāda's preceptor. The last verse sheds light on the relationship between the poet and the king of Ampalappuḷa. It says that King Devanārāyaṇa brought him up with tender care as if he was his own son, gave him a sound education, and maintained his family by munificent gifts. This shows that this king was Rāmapānivāda's chief patron even from his early days. It must be after the annexation of Ampaḷappuḷa to Travancore by Mārttaṇḍavarman in 1750 A.D. that he went to the Travancore court. In recognition of his scholarship the other kings and chieftains of the land also patronized him, and he must have been frequenting the places of these patrons. The verses quoted above are also important from another aspect. They give a list of Rāmapāṇivāda's works: the poems *Viṣṇuvilāsa* and *Rāghavīya,* the Prakrit poems *Kaṁsavadha* and *Uṣāniruddha,* the two *Vīthīs* (*Candrikā* and *Līlāvatī*) and the drama *Sītārāghava,* the *Prākṛtasūtravṛtti,* the commentary on *Kṛṣṇavilāsa, Tālaprastāra, Vṛttavārttika,* and a *Prahasana* (*Madanaketucarita*) are mentioned in the list. And this is almost a complete list, excluding his Stotra works. It must be noted here that not a single Malayalam Tullal work of Kuñcan Nambiyār has been mentioned in the list; the non-Tullal Malayalam works like the *Śivapurāṇa* are also absent here. This supports the view that Rāmapāṇivāda is different from Kuñcan Nambiyār.

The evidence that can be gathered from the Malayalam poem *Viṣṇugīta* also points to the same view. This poem is a free translation of Rāmapāṇivāda's *Viṣṇuvilāsa*, and resembles in style the works of Kuñcan Nambiyār. In the introductory portion the reference to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is carefully omitted in the Malayalam rendering, thereby showing that the translator is not a student of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.[24]

There are references to Kuñcan Nambiyār in the administrative records of Travancore beginning from 1744 A.D. to 1758 A.D.,[25] he must have been patronized by Mārttaṇḍavarman and his successor Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman. And there are many Tullal works of Kuñcan Nambiyār, where Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarman is praised. But in none of the works of Rāmapāṇivāda is any reference to this king. This also suggests that Rāmapāṇivāda must have been an elder contemporary of Kuñcan Nambiyār.[26]

(iii) *Works of Rāmapāṇivāda*

Rāmapāṇivāda is a prolific writer. Among his Sanskrit Mahākāvyas the *Rāghavīya*,[27] written under the patronage of the king of Ampalappuḷa, is the most important. In twenty cantos containing in all 1572 verses it describes the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (excluding the *Uttarakāṇḍa*). A few verses dedicating the poem to the king of Ampalappuḷa are found in a manuscript of the poem.[28] The poem is written in an easy and elegant style; and the poet himself says that it is intended to serve as a text-book for students.[29] The author shows great command of metre and language; but the sweetness of the poem is not marred by the scholarship of the poet. Rāmapāṇivāda follows the classical style and conventions; but he is at the same time quite independent and original in his presentation. There is a commentary to the poem, called *Bālapāṭhyā,* written by the author himself.[30]

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[24] See Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, Introduction to *Viṣṇuvilāsa*, *TSS*, 164.

[25] Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC*, III, pp. 332 ff.

[26] Kuñcan Nambiyār may be identical with Rāmapāṇivāda's younger brother Kṛṣṇa, or his nephew Rāma.

[27] Edited by L. A. Ravivarma, *TSS*, No. 146 (1942).

[28] Quoted by Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Vijñānadīpikā*, III, p. 161 and *KSC*, III, p. 338.

[29] रामेण पाणिवादेन रचितं हि यथामति ।
राघवीयं महाकाव्यं बालव्युत्पत्तिलब्धये ॥

The *Viṣṇuvilāsa*[31] is another Mahākāvya of Rāmapāṇivāda, which in eight cantos describes the story of the *Bhāgavata,* dealing with the first nine incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu. It was written at the instance of the Pāliyat Accan named Rāmakubera.[32] The poem begins with an invocation to god Narasiṁha, the Deity of the temple at Chennamangalam (Jayantamaṅgalam) on the Alwaye river (Cūrṇī).[33] The family residence of the Paliyat Accan is also at Chennamangalam. On this poem there is a commentary called *Viṣṇupriyā,*[34] perhaps written by the author himself. The commentary seems to have been written at Ampalappuḷa, for the colophon at the end of the work contains a verse in praise of the Deity of the temple there.[35]

Among the dramatic works of Rāmapāṇivāda the *Sītārāghava*[36] is the most outstanding. It is a Nāṭaka in seven acts, dealing with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* In this the author refers to King Mārttaṇḍavarman of Travancore and to the sexennial festival called Murajapa instituted by that king.[37] It has an important place among the Rāma-plays of Kerala Sanskrit literature.

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[30] "रामेण पाणिवादेन राघवीयमिदं कृतम् ।
तेनैव बालपाठ्याख्या व्याख्याप्याख्यायि धीमता ॥"

Quoted in Introduction to *Rāghavīya,* p.i. In the manuscript R. 3413 we find the following verse:—

तस्य बालप्रबोधाय संक्षेपेणैव केनचित् ।
बालपाठ्यमिति प्रोक्तं व्याख्यानमुपरज्यते ॥

[31] Edited by Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, *TSS.* No. 164.

[32] See the verse श्रीमद्रामकुबेरनाम सुमति श्रीपालियश्रीपति.... quoted earlier.

[33] चकास्ति चूर्णीसरितस्तटे शुभे निकेतनं यस्य जयन्तमङ्गलम् ।
सनातनश्चेतसि नः प्रकाशतां स नारसिंहं वपुरास्थितो हरिः ॥

[34] Published along with the text. The commentary ends with the sixth canto.

[35] See the verse at the end of canto VI:

अम्बरतटिनीनिलयं कम्बुकशाकलितपाणिकमलयुगम् ।
अम्बुजलोचनमारादम्बरचरवन्दितं वन्दे ॥

[36] *TSS.* (Also in *JT.* 1955 & 56). A part of the text had already been published in the *Sāhityaratnāvali* series, Trichur.

[37] *Vide supra.*

The *Candrikā*[38] and the *Līlāvatī*[39] belong to the Vīthī type of drama. Like the *Bhāṇa* the Vīthī also contains only one act, and resorts to the usual practice of *ākāśabhāṣita* (pretending to hear from persons who do not actually come on the stage). The only difference is that there are two characters in a Vīthī, while there is only one in the Bhāṇa. In the *Candrikā Vīthī* Rāmapāṇivāda himself defines a Vīthī thus:[40]

पात्रद्वयप्रयोज्या भाणवदेकाङ्कैकसन्धिश्च ।
आकाशभाषितवती कृत्रिममिश्रितवृत्तमाश्रिता वीथी ॥

The story of the *Candrikā* is as follows:—Candrasena, king of the Angas, falls in love with Candrikā, daughter of the Vidyādhara named Maṇiratha. Candrikā is stolen by a Rākṣasa named Caṇḍa, whom Candrasena later kills with the blessing of Vighneśvara. In the end Candrasena marries Candrikā. We have already seen that the play was written at the instance of king Vīrarāya of Veṭṭattunāḍ, and intended to be enacted on the occasion of the Śivarātri festival at Triprangoṭ temple. The *Līlāvatī*[41] was composed when Rāmapāṇivāda was staying at Ampalappuḻa. The theme of the play is the love between Vīrapāla, king of Kuntala, and Līlāvatī, daughter of the king of Karṇāṭaka.

The *Madanaketucarita*[42] is a play belonging to the Prahasana type. In the prologue it is referred to as a Prahasana, and then it is said that if it does not conform to the rules of the Prahasana, it may be included in some other type of drama.[43] A manuscript of the work dated 1769 A.D. is found in Trivandrum.[44] The play deals with the story of the Bikkhu Viṣṇumitra who falls in love with the courtesan Anaṅgalekhā, and gets back his religious life by the good offices of a Kāpālika named Śivadāsa.

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[38] *TC* 1332b.

[39] *TC*. 1332a.

[40] *TC*. 1332 b; *KSC*, III, p. 334; *BRI*, *III*.

[41] *TC*. 1332a; *KSC*, III, p. 335.

[42] Edited by Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, *TSS*.

[43] प्रहसनलक्षणलेशैः स्पृष्टं चेत् प्रहसनाभिधां लभताम् ।
नोचेत् पुनरन्यदिदं विनोदनं पाणिवादस्य ॥
"मङ्गलग्रामवास्तव्येन रामपाणिवादेन विरचितं
मदनकेतुचरितं नाम प्रहसनमस्मद्वशे वर्तते ॥"

[44] *TC*. 1307.

Among the Stotra works of Rāmapāṇivāda the first place has to be given to the *Mukundaśataka*[45] which contains 107 verses divided into ten *daśakas*. It was written at the instance of Ārya Śrīkaṇṭha Rāmavarman, who has been identified with the chief of Manakkulam family. As in the *Nārāyaṇīya* of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, here also each verse is addressed to the Deity. The *Bhakti-mārga* is advocated as superior to the *Jñāna-mārga* and the *Karma-mārga*. There is a learned and exhaustive commentary on this Stotra by a fellow student of the author. There is another work by Rāmapāṇivāda, also called *Mukundaśataka;*[46] this is also divided into *daśakas*, and contains 101 verses. Along with the *Mukundaśataka* Rāmapāṇivāda has also written a *Śivaśataka,*[47] probably under the patronage of the chief of the Manakkulam family. The other Stotra works of Rāmapāṇivāda are the *Ambaranadīśastotra* and the *Sūryāṣṭaka;*[48] the former contains 112 verses in praise of God Kṛṣṇa of the temple at Ampalappuḷa, and is divided into *daśakas*, each having a different metre, whereas the latter is a short poem of eight verses in praise of the sun-god, composed at Trivandrum.

The *Bhāgavatacampū*[49] of Rāmapāṇivāda is a work dealing with the story of the *Bhāgavata;* the only one available manuscript ends with the story of 'Mucukundamokṣa' at the end of the seventh Stabaka. It contains some Prakrit passages also.

Rāmapāṇivāda has an important place even as a commentator. Besides the commentary on his own poem *Rāghavīya*, and probably the *Viṣṇuvilāsa,*[50] he has also written lucid commentaries on the *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* of Sukumāra,[51] and the *Dhātukāvya*[52] of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The *Vilāsinī* commentary on the *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* is very popular, and manuscripts of it extending till the end of the tenth canto are available. The other commentary is called *Vivaraṇa*.

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[45] Published with the commentary in *JT*, I & II.

[46] Published as an Appendix to *Mukundaśataka*, *JT*, II-2.

[47] *TP*. 1215.

[48] Both these are published by K. Narayana Pisharoti, *SPT*, VII, pp. 170-86.

[49] *TC*. 1385.

[50] *Vide supra*.

[51] *TP*. 1949; *TC*. 1928-1930; *T*. 4160.

[52] *R*. 3656.

Among the scientific works of Rāmapāṇivāda may be mentioned the *Vṛttavārttika* dealing with metres, and the *Tālaprastāra kāvya*, which is the same as the poem *Rāsakrīḍā* illustrating the permutations of the Anuṣṭubh metre.[53]

Rāmapāṇivāda's contribution to Prakrit literature is considerable. Besides the two poems *Kaṁsavaho*[54] and *Uṣāṇiruddha*,[55] he has also written a lucid commentary on the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* of Vararuci.[56] The *Kaṁsavaho* describes in four cantos the story of the *Bhāgavata* from Akrūra's visit to Kṛṣṇa to the death of Kaṁsa. The *Uṣāṇiruddha* is also based on the *Bhāgavata* story; it deals with the love episode between Uṣā, daughter of Bāṇa, and Aniruddha, grandson of Kṛṣṇa. It is also in four cantos. The commentary on the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* is more detailed than that of Bhāmaha, and gives citations from well-known Prakrit works in illustration of the grammatical rules.

"Rāmapāṇivāda is a genuine poet with a confident grip over his expression; he has inherited the spirit of classical Sanskrit authors whose models he closely follows; though he belongs to the closing period of Prakrit literature, his works can be creditably ranked with the mediaeval Prakrit poems; and his language is a fine specimen of literary Prakrit handled after closely studying the Sūtras of Prakrit grammar".[57] To him the Prakrit is an artificial make up from Sanskrit according to grammatical rules; this has been the case in Kerala, where Prakrit has always been a static language.

The *Sūryaśataka* attributed to him by Dr. Upadhye and Dr. Ravivarma[58] seems to be the same as *Sūryāṣṭaka*. M. Krishnamachariar attributes[59] two plays, *Lalitarāghava* and *Pādukāpaṭṭābhiṣeka*, and a commentary on Līlāśuka's *Govindābhiṣeka* to Rāmapāṇivāda. Of these the first may be a mistake for *Sītārāghava;* there is no evidence for attributing the other works to him.

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[53] Both these are published by K. Sambasiva, Sastri, *TSS.* 131.

[54] Edited by A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur, 1940.

[55] Edited by C. Kunhan Raja, *ALS.* No. 42, 1943.

[56] Edited by C. Kunhan Raja and K. Ramachandra Sarma, *ALS.* No. 54, 1946.

[57] A. N. Upadhye, Introduction to *Kamsavaho,* p.v.

[58] Introduction to *Kaṁsavaho,* p. xx; Introduction to *Rāghavīya,* p. 18.

[59] *HCSL,* p. 257.

The musical poem *Gītarāma* attributed to him by some scholars[60] seems to be identical with the Malayalam Kathakali work *Pālāḷimathanam;* its author is also one Rāma, but his identity with Rāmapāṇivāda is doubtful. Other Sanskrit works attributed to him are *Pañcapadī,* a musical poem extolling the Deity at Mūkkola temple, *Śṛṅgāraviṁśati*[61] which is a collection of twenty erotic verses, and a work on astrology.[62] The poem *Uttararāghavīya,* or *Uttararāmacarita,* attributed to him by some scholars does not seem to be his; a manuscript of the poem ascribes it to Mahiṣamaṅgalam.[63]

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[60] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC,* III, p. 342; Introduction to *Rāghavīya,* p. 18; Introduction to *Mukundaśataka,* p. xi.

[61] M. R. Balakrishna Warrier, The Old College Journal, Trivandrum, vol. XIII, 3. No manuscript of the *Śṛṅgāraviṁśati* is available.

[62] Introduction to *Rāghavīya,* p. 19. A portion has appeared in the Malayalam journal *Lakṣmībhāyi.*

[63] Edited by K. Rama Pisharoti, Śrī Bālamanorama Press, Mylapore 1934. The manuscript *TP.* 1685 is dated 1787 A.D. A manuscript available at Akavūr Mana attributes it to Mahiṣamaṅgalam.

CHAPTER X

MAHĀKĀVYAS

The previous chapters dealt with a large number of literary works which could be grouped together round some of the important royal families or some of the outstanding writers. There is still a considerable amount of literary output which cannot be included under any of these divisions. They are now described in the following chapters under three classes: Mahākāvyas, Dramas and Minor Works. In many cases it is not easy to determine the date or the identity of the author. In the case of those who have written works that fall under different headings, all the works are discussed, when the author is first noticed. Modern writers and their works will be discussed later in a separate chapter.

(i) *Kṛṣṇavilāsa*

The *Kṛṣṇavilāsa*[1] is the most popular Mahākāvya in Kerala; its author Sukumāra, also called Prabhākara according to popular traditions,[2] is said to have been a member of the Kuttulli family of Nambūtiri Brahmins. Tradition confuses him with the great Mīmāṁsā teacher Prabhākara; but all the available manuscripts of the *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* ascribe the poem to Sukumāra; even the commentators do not refer to him as Prabhākara.[3] The poem is unfinished and breaks off in the middle of the twelfth canto, just before the description of Kerala begins.

Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer tried[4] to identify the author of *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* with Bhaṭṭasukumāra, author of a drama called

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[1] *Keralagranthamālā*, 1906-8 (First eight Cantos only); four Cantos with the *Vilāsinī* commentary, Palghat.

[2] The story is that Prabhākara's teacher was a hard task master towards him; one day Prabhākara was hiding inside his teacher's bed room, with the intention of killing him, when he heard the teacher praising the boy's precocity. Remorse filled Prabhākara's heart, and as a punishment for his sin, he burned himself in slow fire. Tradition says that the poem was composed by him, while he was being consumed by the fire. This is the explanation for the unfinished nature of the poem.

[3] Oppert (1427, 2590) ascribes it to Prabhākara.

[4] *Vijñānadīpikā*, Part IV. Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rajarajavarma Raja tried to refute the arguments raised by Ullūr (*KSSC*, I, p. 110ff.).

Raghuvīracarita, who lived in the Cola country in the twelfth century A.D. But the identity is not at all proved. The reference to the Kāveri river and the description of the Cola country[5] may suggest the poet's partiality for that country, but do not prove that he is not a poet of Kerala.[6]

The date of Sukumāra is not certain. Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa refers to him in the *Prakriyāsarvasva*;[7] and Śaṅkara, author of the *Kṛṣṇavijaya*, who lived in the fifteenth century seems to have been influenced by Sukumāra.[8] The poem describes the story of the life of Kṛṣṇa as is given in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. The poet shows the influence of Kālidāsa in style as well in the general handling of the story. The poem begins with the description of the mountain Meru, on the model of the description of Himavat in the *Kumārasambhava*. The scene in Canto V, where the river Yamunā appears before Kṛṣṇa in the form of a woman and narrates her story is a good imitation of the scene in *Raghuvaṁśa* Canto XVI, in which Ayodhyā appears in the guise of a woman to Kuśa in his dream. The description of the places on earth given by Kṛṣṇa to Satyabhāmā on their way back after taking the Pārijāta flowers (Canto XII) is based on a similar scene described in the thirteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*.

Among the commentaries on *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* the *Vilāsinī* by Rāmapāṇivāda is the most important. The *Bālapāṭhyā*[9] by

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[5] See the verse:

कल्हारगन्धः कविता मनोज्ञा कवेरशैलप्रभवं च वारि ।
इदं त्रयं मोहनमिन्द्रियाणामेष्वेव शातोदरि नापरेषु ॥

[6] In *KSC*, I, p. 141 Ullūr agrees that its author might have been a Kerala poet.

[7] *Dhātu* section towards the end, "नयतिर्धात्वन्तरमिति योगशाखे। तेनाक्रमो नयामासेति श्रीकृष्णविलासोक्तिः सिद्धा।"

[8] cf. "अकार्षीदरविन्दाक्षस्तस्या वपुषि विक्रियाम् ।
उदपादि पुनस्तेन हृदि सा मन्मथोद्भवा ॥"

Kṛṣṇavilāsa, VIII-127

अहार्षीद्विकृतिं तस्या वपुषः पुरुषोत्तमः ।
अवर्धयत तां तस्या मानसे मीनकेतनः ॥

Kṛṣṇavijaya, VII-144

[9] *TP*. 1949 extends till the end of Canto IX. First four cantos have been published with the text.

Govinda of Tāmrapatrālaya (Cembola?) in Ālaṅgāḍ who was a student of Gopāla and Mādhava belongs to the nineteenth century; this Govinda seems identical with the author of the poem called *Mādhavīya.*[10] Another commentary is the *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* by Ilattūr Rāmasvāmi Śāstri, also known as Gomatīdāsa, composed in 1873 A.D. at the instance of Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārāja of Travancore.[11]

(ii) *Śivavilāsa*

The *Śivavilāsa*[12] of Dāmodara Cākyār is a semi-historical poem containing 505 verses in eight cantos. In the introductory portion the *Raghuvaṃśa* is mentioned as the poet's model. The story begins with a description of the Śiva temple in the city of Kaṇṭiyūr, the capital of Kāyamkulam or Oḍanāḍ in Kerala. In this city lived King Keralavarman and his minister Kṛṣṇavīra.[13] Entrusting the burden of administration to his nephew, the king began to enjoy life. The second canto deals with the enjoyment of the king in the company of his consort, named Kuṭṭatti of Cerukara (Vatsatīra), whose house was situated on the western side of the Śiva temple. They spent twelve years there in full enjoyment; but were sad that no daughter was born to them. On the advice of the minister the king began to worship God Śiva, the deity of the temple. The third canto contains a long description of the king's worship which lasts for ninty days. Śiva appears before him and blesses him. The next canto describes the queen's pregnancy, the birth of a daughter and the parents' joy. The king did not know what name he should give to his daughter. God again appears before him in his dream, and suggests the name *Naṭī*, where *na* is replaced by *ṇa* and there are vowels added to it. Thus it becomes *Uṇṇiyāṭī* which was a common name among the actresses of Kerala at that time. A description of Uṇṇiyāṭī's childhood and education is also given in the same canto. The fifth canto begins with a description of Uṇṇiyāṭī's youth. Though a girl of twelve, she had grown up fully. Her parents decided to make a *svayaṁvara* marriage, so that she could select her companion. The preparation for the marriage lasts for two months. The morning of the marriage day is described in the sixth canto. The heroine gets ready for the marriage ceremony. The whole of the seventh canto is devoted to the description of the marriage ceremony. Uṇṇiyāṭī selects Rāmavarman, prince of Mahodayapura, belonging to the dynasty of Perumpaṭappu (*Bahuvyāpti*). Their honeymoon forms the theme of the last canto. After a few months of stay at Kaṇṭiyūr, they go to Mahodayapura, the residence of the husband.

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[10] *R.*, 3439. Gopāla was a Piṣāroṭi and Mādhava a Vāriyar.

[11] *TC.* 1431c. It is also called *Mañjulabhāṣiṇī.* See the following verses there:—

आदेशेन विशाखभूवलरिपोर्यावन्मनीषाबलं ।
श्रीमत्कृष्णविलासकाव्यतिलकं व्याख्यातुमद्यारभे ॥
चतुः सहस्रययां नवतिर्युतायां शतैश्चतुः सप्ततिसंख्ययापि ।
अतीतवत्यां कलिवत्सराणां व्याख्या कृता मन्जुलभाषिणीयम् ।

[12] *TSS*, 177 (1956). See also *IHQ*, XX, pp. 43 ff; *SPT*, III-2, pp. 23 ff.

[13] भूतिः स्थिरा यत्र नयस्य, नाम्ना धीरः श्रुतो यो भुवि कृष्णवीरः ।
सोऽथ द्विजं तं निजराज्यतन्त्रसारथ्यकृत्ये वरयांचकार ॥

See also the *campū*:

"पुतिक्कोट्टेन्नु भूतले गीतकीर्तिविलासो नीतिशास्त्रनिष्णातः
कृष्णाभिधानो भाति मन्त्रिमुख्यः ।"

(*KSC*, I, p. 311)

The heroine Uṇṇiyāṭī belongs to the family of actresses and her family name was Cerukara (*Vatsatīra*); her mother was Kuṭṭatti (Guptastrī). They belonged to the city of Kaṇṭiyūr (Śaivalapura). The heroine was born as a result of the blessing of God Śiva of the temple there, and hence the name *Śivavilāsa* to the poem. The hero is Prince Rāmavarman, son of Lakṣmī and the nephew of king Rāmavarman of Perumpaṭappu (Cochin).[14] The king of Kāyaṅkulam is described as a *sāmanta;* perhaps he might have been a feudatory of the king of Perumpaṭappu who is described as the Overlord of Kerala (*Keralādhīśvara*).[15]

In the Sanskrit Bhāṇa called *Viṭanidrā* of unknown authorship, there is reference to one Rāmavarman, son of Lakṣmī, who is a prince of Mahodayapura. K. Rama Pisharoti identifies him with the hero of the *Śivavilāsa;* he says[16] that this prince Rāmavarman might be responsible for the shifting of the capital from Mahodayapuram to Cochin.

[14] लक्ष्म्याः सुतः पश्य स रामवर्मा लक्ष्मीवतोऽमुष्य तु भागिनेयः ।

[15] *Vide supra* Chapter 7.

[16] *JORM*, IV, pp. 142 ff.

Dāmodara, author of the *Śivavilāsa,*[17] belonged to the community of Cākyārs, the professional actors of Sanskrit dramas in Kerala. He seems to have been a protege of Keralavarman, the king of Kāyaṅkulam. In the Malayalam campū work called *Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam,* which is also attributed to this Dāmodara, the poet appears as a character;[18] there is an interesting description of Dāmodara with his black tuft of hair four inches long in the centre of his head.[19] Uṇṇīyāṭi is the heroine of this Campū. There is another Malayalam work called the *Uṇṇunīlisandeśa*[20] also belonging to the fourteenth century, where Kuṭṭatti and Uṇṇiyāṭi of the Cerukara family are mentioned as well-known people; but the king of Kāyaṅkulam described there is Ravivarman, and not Keralavarman.

The *Śivavilāsa* is written in a graceful and fluent style.[21]

(iii) *Subhadrāharaṇa*

The *Subhadrāharaṇa*[22] is a Mahākāvya containing twenty cantos written on the model of the *Rāvaṇavadha* of Bhaṭṭi, illustrating the grammatical rules of Pāṇini, and intended mainly for the students of Sanskrit grammar. The author is Nārāyaṇa, son of Brahmadatta. His house was situated in the neighbourhood of the river Nilā (Bhāratappuḻa). Brahmadatta himself was a scholar who studied under Jātavedas and Aṣṭamūrti. Nārāyaṇa had two uncles Rāma and Udaya,[23] and belonged to the Viśvāmitra gotra. This is all that we know definitely about the author. He must be earlier than Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa who refers to him in the *Prakriyāsarvasva,* as an authority on grammar.

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[17] See the concluding verse

इति महितपदाब्जे रुद्रनारायणीये मधुलिह इव वृत्तिं विभ्रता चातकस्य ।
अलघु शिवविलासं नाम काव्यं बवन्धे सुरभि भरतगोत्रीयेण दामोदरेण॥

[18] अत्रत्योऽयं निखिलविद्यापारदृश्वा दामोदराभिधानो भरताचार्यः ।

[19] *Talabhuvi naṭuvil irunnoru karamel nāl viral nīṇṭu nitāntam iruṇṭa kacapracayattin kāntivilāsair aḻakoṭu viracita caṭṭaṇipīlikkuḻa tan kīḻppāḍ iva lasamāno.*

[20] Published by *NBS,* Kottayam with a commentary by Ilankulam Kunhan Pilla.

[21] e.g. see the following verse

प्रकाशमानं क्वचिदप्रकाशवत् क्वचित् प्रभामात्रतयेक्षितं क्वचित् ।
घनाततव्योमगतेन्दुसन्निभं तदाननं सौधगृहेष्वलक्ष्यत ॥

[22] R 2720, 4323; *TP* 2005-07; *TC* 217. On this work see *KSSC*, I, pp. 526ff; *HCSL*, p. 146; *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 302ff; Introduction to *Prakriyāsarvasva* by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja; Introduction to *Tantrasamuccaya*, by E. V. Raman Nambutiri (Vol. III); *JT*, VI-1, 2.

Some scholars[24] consider Nārāyaṇa to have been a member of the Kūḍallūr family traditionally famous for scholarship in Sanskrit grammar. This family also belonged to the Viśvāmitra gotra, and their house was formerly situated near the Bhāratappuḻa. The tradition is that this family is descended from Meḻattol Agnihotrin who performed several sacrifices on the banks of the river.[25] Some other scholars try to identify this Nārāyaṇa with one of the Tiruvegappura Nambūtiris traditionally included among the court poets of the great Mānavikrama of Koḻikkode.[26] It is true that Kākkaśśeri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa has referred to a scholar named Nārāyaṇa as his preceptor, and as a native of Tiruvegappura. There is no positive evidence to identify the author of the *Subhadrāharaṇa* either with a member of the Kūḍallūr family, or with Kākkaśśeri's preceptor.

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[23] विश्वामित्रस्य गोत्रे द्विजमणिरभवद् ब्रह्मदत्ताभिधानो
श्रद्धास्वाध्यायपूतः सकलगुणनिधिः शास्त्रवित् काव्यशौण्डः ।
अन्तेवासी विपश्चिद्द्विपहरिणभृतो(?)र्जातवेदोष्टमूर्त्यो—
स्तत्सूनुः काव्यमेतद्व्यधित बुधमुदे ख्यातनारायणाख्यः ॥
निलोपकण्ठाभरणाद्विनीताद्यो ब्रह्मदत्तादजनि द्विजेन्द्रः ।
रामोदयाचार्यपितृव्यचुञ्जुर्नारायणोऽसौ कविरस्य कर्ता ॥

[24] K. V. Krishna Iyer, *op.cit.*, p. 302f; Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC*, II, pp. 66ff. This family specialized in grammar There is a popular verse about it:

कौमुदीपिपठिषा यदि ते स्यात् पञ्चवत्सरमनन्यविचारः ।
सङ्गमालयमहीसुरवर्यस्यालये वस कृपानिलयस्य ॥

[25] Nīlakaṇṭha, author of a Bhāṣya on *Sahasranāmastotra* (R 2721): refers to this tradition. See Chapter 11 for details.

[26] See under 'Kākkaśśeri' in Chapter 4. E. V. Raman Nambutiri (Introduction to *Tantrasamuccaya* with Malayalam Commentary Part III) tries to show that no member of the Kūḍallūr family could have written the *Subhadrāharaṇa;* but he has not produced any definite evidence. His attemp to show that the author was a member of Kiḻuvappuram family in Tiruvegappura is based on a strained explanation of the term *vinīta* in the line "*nilopakaṇṭhābharaṇād vinītat*" of the text. The commentary by the autho himself does not give such an explanation for the word.

Nārāyaṇa is a great scholar. Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa refers to him with great respect as an authority on the subject. Though the main intention of the poet is to illustrate the grammatical rules,[27] the poem shows that Nārāyaṇa is capable of writing verses of real literary merit. It contains about 2200 verses, more than half of them being in the Anuṣṭubh metre. The grammatical rules are illustrated only in the first sixteen cantos; for this portion there is a commentary called *Vivaraṇa* by the author himself. The last four cantos are simpler, and are called *Prasanna-kāṇḍa.*[28] From the literary point of view the *Subhadrāharaṇa* may be considered as superior to *Bhaṭṭikāvya* itself. Here are a few verses:[29]

"कठोरमेके सुकुमारमन्ये मार्गं कवीन्द्रा वचसः प्रपन्नाः ।
मेघस्वनेषून्मनसो मयूरा हंसा पुनर्नूपुरशिञ्जितेषु ॥'
"सरस्सु पीतपानीयैर्बभौ यत्कूलमुद्रहैः ।
अभ्रंलिहमहाभ्रैः ककुद्मद्भिर्वहंलिहैः ॥"

The description of the Ganges:—

"स्वादीयोरससम्पूर्णां गगनद्रुममञ्जरीम् ।
वीचिस्फटिकसोपानपदवीं देवतापुरः ॥
पृतनां धर्मराजस्य, बलं पापस्य मथ्नतीम् ।
शितिकण्ठशिरोमालां हिमाद्रेर्हारवल्लरीम् ॥
काञ्चीं मुक्तामयीमुर्व्याः, सागरस्याभिसारिकाम् ।
गिरिराजहिमोत्पीडसम्पर्कादिव शीतलाम् ॥
मधुरां मृडमौलीन्दुसुधासङ्कलनादिव ।
कठिनाद्रिशिलापृष्ठलुठनादिव निर्मलाम् ॥"

There is a commentary called *Āmoda*[30] on Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*; the whole commentary is written in verse. It is mainly concerned with giving the meanings and derivations of words. Its author is one Aṣṭamūrti about whom we know very little; it has been suggested[31] that he may be identical with the scholar referred to in the *Subhadrāharaṇa*.

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[27] सुदुस्तरं व्याकरणाम्बुराशिं मनस्तरित्रेण विगाह्य लब्धैः ।
सुशब्दरत्नै रचयामि हारं काव्यं सुभद्राहरणाभिधानम् ॥

[28] For an analysis of the work see S. Venkatasubramonia Iyer, *JT*, VI-1 & 2.

[29] Quoted by Ullūr, *KSC*, II, p. 70f.

[30] See "Manuscript Notes" by Venkatasubramonia Iyer, *JT*, V-1.

[31] *Ibid.*

The *Pāṇinīyasūtrodāharaṇakāvya*[32] is similar to the *Subhadrāharaṇa*. It is a poem of unknown authorship and date, describing the story of Kṛṣṇa, and at the same time illustrating the rules of grammar. The only fragmentary manuscript of the work was got from the Kūḍallūr house; perhaps it is the work of a member of that family.

The *Rāghavayādavīya*[33] of Vāsudeva is said to be another scholarly Mahākāvya from Kerala describing, on the model of the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, the story of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa simultaneously with the help of *double entendre*. But the work seems to come from outside Kerala.

(iv) *Vāsudeva of Mahiṣamaṅgalam*

Vāsudeva,[34] protege of king Ravivarman of Veṭṭattunāḍ in the sixteenth century, was a native of Perumanam village. He is the author of several works: *Govindacarita*, *Saṃkṣeparāmāyaṇa*, *Saṃkṣepabhārata*, *Kalyāṇanaiṣadha* and the *Vāsudevavijaya*.[35] The *Govindacarita* is a simple poem describing in ten cantos the story of Kṛṣṇa. The *Saṃkṣeparāmāyaṇa* and the *Saṃkṣepabhārata* narrate briefly in a lucid and simple style the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* respectively; the former contains three cantos, and the latter five. The *Kalyāṇanaiṣadha* describes the story of Nala and Damayantī in seven cantos. King Ravivarman of Veṭṭattunāḍ is praised in all these, except the *Saṃkṣeparāmāyaṇa;* the colophons ascribe them to Vāsudeva and the style is the same throughout. A Stotra work named *Śvetāraṇyastuti*[36] is also generally ascribed to him. His patron Ravivarman seems to be identical with the patron of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi; this gives us the date of the poet. His identity with the author of the *Vāsudevavijaya* and its commentary has already been indicated.[37] The poem is said to contain more than five cantos;[38] it describes the story of Kṛṣṇa and at the same time illustrates the rules of Pāṇini.

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[32] *R* 3066; *KSSC*, I, p. 528f; *HCSL*, p. 145. There is also a commentary along with the text.

[33] *KSSC*, I, p. 552f. *R* 3733; the manuscript was obtained from Ganjam District.

[34] See the chapters on Kulaśekhara and Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa for details.

[35] *R* 76, *DC* 11838, Adyar XXI. p. 31; R 2969; R 2895; *R* 2972; Kāvyamālā.

[36] *R* 3798b

[37] See p. 23f.

[38] V. Rajarajavarma Raja (*KSSC*, III, p. 171) refers to a manuscript containing seven cantos.

Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rajarajavarma Raja takes objection to my suggestion about the identity of the authors of *Govindacarita* and the *Vāsudevavijaya*; he says that the author of *Govindacarita* was a protege of King Ravivarman of Veṭṭattunāḍ, and hence a contemporary of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi, whereas the author of the *Vāsudevavijaya* must be much earlier than Melpputtūr who supplemented it by his *Dhātukāvya*.[39] But Melpputtūr was a younger contemporary of Piṣāroṭi and Vāsudeva, and could have written the *Dhātukāvya* after the death of Vāsudeva.[40]

As an example of the general style of the *Vāsudevavijaya* a few verses may be given here:[41]

"मनोज्ञगात्री मधुरारुणाधरा शातोदरी चन्द्रमुखी पृथुस्तना ।
नृपेण दोष्णा सहजा जिघांसुना शीर्षण्यवालेषु हठादगृह्यत ॥"

"दध्मियन्ते स्म कम्बूनि जघ्नियन्ते स्म दुन्दुभीन् ।
उपाविवीणंश्च नरा मह्यमाने महीधरे ॥"

The poem *Uttararāmacarita* which was once attributed to Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa by some scholars and to Rāmapāṇivāda by some others[42] seems to be a work of this Vāsudeva,[43] for the first line of the verse

कुन्दसूनमनोहारिमन्दहासविराजितम् ।
नन्दगोपकुलोत्तंसमिन्दिरारमणं भजे ॥

occurring in the *Govindacarita*, the *Saṁkṣepabhārata* and the commentary on the *Vāsudevavijaya* is found in the course of the description of Sītā in the *Uttararāmacarita*.[44] And in a manuscript of the *Uttararāmacarita* available at Akavūr Mana, it is expressly

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39. *KSSC*, III, p. 176.

40. The term '*prāk*' used by Melpputtūr is suggestive, and may be compared to the use of the same term in the beginning of the *Meya* portion of *Mānameyodaya*. In both cases it only suggests that the earlier author is no longer alive.

41. Quoted in *KSSC*, III, pp. 172ff.

42. See under Rāmapāṇivāda.

43. See Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, *Malamaṅgalam Vāsudevan Nambūtiri*, Malayālarājyam Annual, 1957.

44. "मधुराधरकान्तिश्रीविधुरीभूतविद्रुमाम् ।
कुन्दसूनमनोहारिमन्दहासविभूषणाम् ।
कण्ठकान्तिपराभूतकम्बुबिम्बोकडम्बराम् ॥"

stated that the work belongs to Mahiṣamaṅgalam.[45] The style of the *Uttararāmacarita* is quite different from the style of Melpputtūr or of Rāmapāṇivāda. Mahiṣamaṅgalam belonged to Perumanam grāma; this fact agrees with what the commentator of the *Dhātukāvya* says about the author of the *Vāsudevavijaya*.[46] Hence it may be assumed that Vāsudevan Nambūtiri of the Mahiṣamaṅgalam family is the author of the *Uttararāmacarita*, the *Vāsudevavijaya* and its commentary, and the simple poems like *Govindacarita* written under the patronage of King Ravivarman of Veṭṭattunāḍ towards the close of the sixteenth century A.D.

(v) *Yamaka poems*

The *Sītāharaṇa*[47] of Nārāyaṇa is a Yamaka poem written on the model of Vāsudeva's *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya;* it is a voluminous work in fifteen cantos describing the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Nothing is known definitely about the author except that he lived at the time when Manukulāditya was ruling over the country. Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer identifies[48] this king with the king Manukulāditya mentioned in the *Saṁkṣepaśārīraka;* but there is no basis for such an identification.[49] The *Sītāharaṇa* seems to be an imitation of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*, and must be much later than the tenth century. Nārāyaṇa is a great scholar and has perfect command of the language, and is able to produce Yamaka without much strain. Still his work is decidedly inferior to that of Vāsudeva.[50]

The *Gaurīkalyāṇa*[51] is another Yamaka poem written on the model of the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. In three *Āśvāsas* it describes the story of the marriage of Pārvatī and Śiva. The author is one Govindanātha who is a disciple of Rāma Vāriyar belonging to the Karikkāṭṭu Vāriyam in South Malabar.[52] The *Gaurīkalyāṇa* is a fine poem following the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* even in phraseology. There is a commentary on it called *Padārthavādinī*;[53] it is by a scholar who calls himself the disciple of a Brahmin named Nārāyaṇa.[54] It seems that the commentator was almost a contemporary of the poet Govindanātha. It is from him that we learn that the poet was a disciple of Karikkāṭṭu Rāma Vāriyar. We know that Candraśekhara Vāriyar, author of *Kṛṣṇacarita*,[55] and a student of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa had also a teacher named Rāma Vāriyar of Karikkāṭ. This helps us in fixing the date of Govindanātha. He must have flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. Govindanātha has also written another poem on the life of Śaṅkarācārya in nine cantos of Anuṣṭubh verses; it is called *Śaṅkarācāryacarita*.[56]

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[45] "*Moḻamaṅgala kṛti*", colophon quoted by K. P. Narayana Pisharoti, *MW*, vol. 34, part 14.

[46] वासुदेवो नाम पुरुवनग्रामजन्मा कश्चिद् द्विजन्मा ।

[47] *TC* 1563a, 1564. See also *KSSC*, I, p. 553f.

[48] SPT, I, p. 386f.

[49] Vaṭakkunkūr Rajarajavarma Raja (*KSSC*, I, p. 553) identifies Manukulāditya with some king of Cochin, and says that there is a reference to Trichur in the following verse of the poem:

रविवंशसुधाम्बुधिना मनुना समुवास तते सकलेष्व्यगुणे ।
शिवधाम्नि पुरे रघुवंशमणिर्युवतंससमः स समस्तु शिवः ॥

[50] e.g. प्रणमत वरदमनन्तं देवं नरकादिदैत्यवरदमनं तम् ।
शुद्धिरतानि जगत्या वृष्णीन् येनानुगृह्णता निजगत्या ॥

[51] R 2015

(vi) *Poems from Quilon*

Kuśābhyudaya[57] is a Mahākāvya of unknown authorship composed under the patronage of a king of Quilon named Rāmavarman. In the beginning of the poem the poet gives a long description of his patron.[58] But what we can gather from that is only that Rāmavarman was the nephew of the king of Quilon named Keralavarman. Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer suggests that this Rāmavarman is identical with the king of that name mentioned in the *Subhagasandeśa,* who could be assigned to the fifteenth century A.D. The poem describes in a simple and lucid style the story of Kuśa, son of Rāma.

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[52] See the commentary: अथ गजवनग्रामे पारशवान्वयसंभूत साहित्यविद्यापरमदेशिकं महद्भिरामं रामाभिधानं निजगुरुभूतं .... (गजवन = Karikkāṭ).

[53] *R* 2916.

[54] तस्मात् भूसुरवरतः शिष्यसभायै वितीर्णभासुरवरतः ।
विद्यापारायणतश्चेतो मागा गुरोस्तु नारायणतः ॥

[55] *TC* 1425. See also p.

[56] *KSC*, II, p. 413; *TP* 1953.

[57] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Vañcirājavaṃśa*, *Sahṛdaya*, III-5.

[58] अस्त्यार्जितश्रीजयसिंहराजसन्तानरत्नाकरशीततेजाः ।........
स केरलेन्द्रः सकलारिनारीवक्षस्थलालङ्कृतिहानिदक्षः ।
स रामवर्माजनि भागिनेयस्तस्यासुरारेरिव कार्तिकेयः ।.......
तस्यावनीमण्डलशीतभानोः साहित्यविद्यातिविदग्धबुद्धेः ।
नियोगतो निर्मलकीर्तिराशेर्यदुप्रवीरस्य गुणालयस्य ॥
प्रवक्ष्यते पापविनाशहेतुश्चेतोभिरामं चरितं कुशस्य ॥

Yadunāthacarita[59] is another Mahākāvya written in a simple style and intended for beginners. In ten cantos the poem describes the story of Kṛṣṇa following the tenth Skandha of the *Bhāgavata.* Neither the name of the author, nor his date is known. But from the introductory portion of the poem[60] it is clear that it was composed at the instance of a scholarly and generous queen of Quilon, who was the sister of the king Ādityavarman. About a dozen verses are given in the beginning of the poem in praise of the queen.

(vii) *Paṇḍavacarita*

The *Pāṇḍavacarita*[61] is another popular Mahākāvya of Kerala. In a simple, lucid and sweet style it describes in ten cantos the story of the *Mahābhārata.* In the beginning of the poem the author praises the Yamaka poet Vāsudeva who wrote the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya.*[62] The poem is traditionally ascribed to one Kāli Vārasyār of Tiruvellakkāvu; it is said that she became a poet by eating the rind of the plantain fruit thrown away by the Yamaka poet Vāsudeva.[63] The poem contains sixteen cantos.

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[59] *TP* 1876; *Sahṛdaya,* III-5; *KSC,* II, p. 87.

[60] "अस्ति कूपकभूपालवंशमङ्गलदेवता ।
निलयः सद्गुणालीनां राज्ञी प्राज्ञैकसम्मता ॥"
"भ्रातापि यस्या भूलोकत्राता नीतौ स्थितः सताम् ।
निर्माति नित्यमादित्यवर्मा शर्माणि मर्मवित् ॥"
"तस्याः कलाधरास्यायाः प्रीत्यै माध्वीगिरा मया ।
संक्षिप्ता साक्षरप्रासा क्रियते भगवत्कथा ॥"

[61] *TC* 1468a; 1474b.

[62] See chapter on Kulaśekhara for details. The verse is:
तस्मै नमोऽस्तु कवये वासुदेवाय धीमते ।
येन पार्थकथा रम्या यमिता लोकपावनी ॥

[63] The story need not be taken seriously. It only shows that the author of the poem was much influenced by Vāsudeva.

Simple metres like the Anuṣṭubh are generally used Some of the verses from that poem like:

इन्दुकुन्दतुषाराभा भक्तचित्तानुवर्तिनी ।
वाणी मे रसनारङ्गे तनोतु नटनं सदा ॥

have become very popular in Kerala.

It is said in the poem that it was composed when king Rājarāja was ruling the country. It is not possible to identify the Rājarāja.[64]

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[64] Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer suggests (*KSC*, II, p. 345) Rājarāja referred to here is a king of Cochin in the first half of the seventeenth century. The reference is:—

राजन्वती धरा येन राजता सकलैर्गुणैः ।
राजचन्द्रोऽस्ति विख्यातो राजराजसमाख्यया ॥
वैरिकैरवसूरस्य काले तस्य महीपतेः ।
अभूत् कापि पृथासूनुचरितालङ्कृता कृतिः ॥

CHAPTER XI

DRAMAS

(i) *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*

Śaktibhadra, author of the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*,[1] is quite reticent about himself in his work. All that we know definitely about him is that he was a South Indian dramatist and that prior to this drama he had written other works like the *Unmādavāsavadatta.*[2] There is a popular tradition in Kerala which makes Śaktibhadra a contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya.[3]. It is said that Śaktibhadra was a native of Ceṅṅannūr in Travancore, and that once during Śaṅkara's tour in Kerala, the poet met him and read out the whole drama to him. The story is that Śaṅkara did not make any comment as he was having his vow of silence; but Śaktibhadra mistook his silence as a sign of his disapproval, and in a fit of despair threw the manuscript in fire as soon as Śaṅkara had left. Later, when the year of silence had elapsed, Śaṅkara came back to congratulate the poet on his achievement, and addressed him as *Bhuvanabhūti,* alluding to the use of the word in a masterly way in a verse of the drama. On hearing about the loss of the manuscript, Śaṅkara dictated the whole work from his prodigious memory and restored the work. We have already seen that a similar story is narrated about Śaṅkara and three dramas of a certain Rājaśekhara of Kerala in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Vidyāraṇya. Hence we need not attach any importance to such traditional stories.

The problem of the relative priority of Śaktibhadra and the royal dramatist Kulaśekharavarman has already been discussed,[4] and it has been shown that Kulaśekhara must have flourished later than Śaktibhadra. Since Kulaśekhara's date is fixed about 900 A.D., Śaktibhadra must be assigned to about the ninth century A.D. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri suggested that some influence of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa can be detected in Śaktibhadra's work.[5] According to one tradition Śaktibhadra is only a pseudonym, the real name being Śaṅkara.[6]

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[1] Published in the Balamanorama Series, No. 9 with an Introduction by S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Mylapore, 1926. Partly published in the Keralagranthamālā.

[2] See prologue: उन्मादवासवदत्ताप्रभृतीनां काव्यानां कर्तुः कवेः शक्तिभद्रस्येदं प्रज्ञाविलसितम् ।

[3] *KSSC*, I, p. 318f. See also *IHQ*, III, pp. 220ff.

[4] See chapter on Kulaśekharavarman.

In seven acts the drama depicts the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Śaktibhadra shows real judgment where he deviates from Vālmīki in the construction of the plot, as in the way "in which Sītā's abduction is made least objectionable by Rāvaṇa approaching her under Rāma's disguise, and misleading her by a false announcement of Bharata's kingdom being in danger".[7] By the dropping of the Viṣkambhas. and by adopting the device of Aṅkāvatāra whenever possible, he has been able to secure the quickness of action necessary for a drama to be successful on the stage. He adopts the graceful Vaidarbhī style characterized by lucidity and sweetness.

The drama takes its name *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* from the miraculous crest jewel and ring given to Rāma and Sītā by the hermits. Or it may be indicative of the Adbhuta Rasa which is the dominating motif of the play. The commentator himself has explained it in this way.[8]

The characteristic feature of the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* is the dominating Adbhuta Rasa. "It will be difficult to find such an accumulation of wonders in any other Sanskrit play, as we find in the seven acts of the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*. We see the Rākṣasī Śūrpaṇakhā, now as a seductive charming woman, and then again in her terrible demoniac shape, a giantess cutting the clouds with her knife-like finger nails, etc. (Acts I & II), the demon Mārīca in the shape of the golden antelope, the wonderful crest jewel and the miraculous ring, by which demons are forced to show their true form, Rāvaṇa and his charioteer appearing as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and Śūrpaṇakhā as Sītā (Act III), the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa in the shape of Rāma, Rāvaṇa's fight with the heavenly bird Jaṭāyus, (Act IV), the ten-headed Rāvaṇa trying in vain to win the love of the unfortunate Sītā (Act V), the ape Hanumat, Rāma's trusty friend, bringing a happy message to Sītā (Act VI), and finally — the wonder of all wonders — Sītā's fire ordeal (Act VII), when Agni and all the gods appear to vouch for the purity of the faithful wife, and Nārada brings the heavenly car Puṣpaka, in which Rāma and Sītā are to be taken to Ayodhya. Scene follows upon scene, like moving pictures in a cinematograph."[9]

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[5] *Introduction.* See also M. Winternitz, *Śaktibhadra's Place in the History of Sanskrit Literature,* Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume, p. 5.

[6] T. K. Krishna Menon, *IHQ,* III, p. 220 f. The commentator says:
शक्त्या कवित्वनिदानभूतेन संस्कारेण भद्र इति अर्थानुगतमेव नाम ।

[7] Introduction, p 17.

[8] *Ibid,* p. 7.
वीरकार्याद्भुतरसभूयिष्ठत्वेनाश्चर्यकराणां चूडामणिरिति आश्चर्यचूडामणिरिति संज्ञा ।
आश्चर्यभूता चूडामणिर्यस्मिन् प्रतिपाद्यत्वेनाङ्गीकृत इति वा ॥
But in the *Naṭāṅkuśa* the main sentiment of this play is given as Vīra:
चूडामणिप्रभृतिनाटकानां वीररसप्रधानत्वात् ।

Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri refers[10] to the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* as "the best of the Rāma-plays, perhaps barring Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* in certain respects." Winternitz agrees with this view and adds[11] that "as regards dramatic action and appropriateness for the stage Śaktibhadra's drama surpasses even the *Uttararāmacarita*", though Bhavabhūti is the greater poet. Barnett says[12] that this drama "deserves to be included in the list of classics and studied as such", but he points out that the language "though generally graceful and lucid, is not always handled with the sureness of touch of a great master".[13]

There is a commentary on the play by a certain Brahman of Bhāradvājagrāma, who is a follower of the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṁśā.[14] His date is not known.

(ii) *Pradyumnābhyudaya*

Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, author of the drama *Pradyumnābhyudaya*,[15] is the famous king of Quilon who became the Emperor

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9. Winternitz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 3f.
10. *Introduction*, p. 12.
11. *loc. cit*, p. 3.
12. *JRAS*, 1927, p. 353.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Published with the text. See the colophon:
    भारद्वाजग्रामवासी कुमारिलमतानुगः । विप्रः कश्चिच्छक्तिभद्रकृतं व्याकृत नाटकम् ॥
15. *TSS*, 8.

of Kerala and the overlord of the Pāṇḍyas and the Colas.[16] He was born in 1266-67 A.D., as the son of king Jayasiṁha of Kerala and Umādevī, and belonged to the Yādava family of Quilon (Kolamba). He gained possession of the neighbouring kingdom of Veṇāḍ from Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the younger brother and co-regent of Māravarman Kulaśekhara I, who had conquered that district during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[17] Ravivarman defeated Vikrama Pāṇḍya in battle, and married his daughter.[18] "He took possession of Kerala in his 33rd year (1299-1300); he vanquished Vīra Pāṇḍya, made the Pāṇḍyas and the Colas subjects of the Keralas, and crowned himself as king of Ma'bar on the banks of the Vegavatī at the age of fortysix (1312-13); subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Colas and Keralas, chased Vīra Pāṇḍya to Koṅkaṇa, thence to the forests, conquered the northern country, and returned to Kāñcī, where in the fourth year of his reign he made a gift of some lands to the temple of Arulālanātha".[19] But achievements proved ephemeral. Vīra Udaya Mārttaṇḍavarman proclaimed himself as the ruler of Veṇāḍ, and he was helped by Vīra Pāṇḍya.[20] Such revolts in Kerala forced Ravivarman to leave Kāñcī and return to Kerala.

Ravivarman was a poet and a patron of letters. In some of the inscriptions he is addressed as Dakṣiṇa Bhoja.[21] Two well-known poets, Samudrabandha and Kavibhūṣaṇa, flourished in his court; the former is the author of a learned commentary on Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkārasarvasva*,[22] which contains many verses in praise of Ravivarman; the latter must have also written some works, but we know only the eighteen verses of the Śrīraṅgam inscription as his. Samudrabandha's statement in the beginning of his commentary that the exposition of the text was given by the king himself and that he was only acting as an editor need not be taken literally. Still it is quite possible that Ravivarman himself is the author of the drama *Pradyumnābhyudaya,* though it could have been revised by the scholars of his court.

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[16] On Ravivarman see Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *NIA*, I, pp. 147-180; Dr. M. Venkataramaṇayya, *JORM*, XII, pp. 194-204; *EI*, IV, pp. 145 ff; VIII, p. 8.

[17] *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 190.

[18] See the following verse quoted in the *Līlātilaka*:

Droṇāya drupadam Dhanañjaya iva kṣmāpālabālo balī
Veṇāṭṭinnuṭayoru vīraravivarmākhyo yadūnām patiḥ
Pāṇḍyam vikramapūrvakam paṭayilveccāṭṭippiṭiccaṅṅane
Pāṇḍyeśāya koṭuttu tasya tanayām padmānanām agrahīt.

[19] Dr. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[20] *TAS*, IV, p. 89 f; Dr. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[21] *EI*, IV, pp. 145 ff.

[22] *TSS*, 40.

The *Pradyumnābhyudaya* describes in five acts the story of Pradyumna killing Vajraṇābha and marrying his daughter Prabhāvatī. The story is taken from the *Harivaṁśa,*[23] but the author has made several alterations in the story. There is an interesting interlude *Rambhābhisaraṇa* in the third act of the play. The plot of the drama seems to have some topical allusion. The hero Pradyumna defeats his enemy Vajraṇābha in battle, and marries his daughter; this may have a reference to Ravivarman's fight with Vikrama Pāṇḍya, and his subsequent marriage of the daughter of the vanquished enemy. Ravivarman follows Kālidāsa in many places:[24] the fourth act of the drama is almost an imitation of the third act of the *Śākuntala.* The interlude in the third act gives the lovers an excellent opportunity to meet for the first time. The main sentiment is *Sṛṅgāra;* the *Vīra* sentiment acts as an accessory to that. In the fifth act the *Vīra* is almost supreme.

(iii) *Pūrṇasarasvati's Kamalinīrājahaṁsa*

Pūrṇasarasvati, author of the drama *Kamalinīrājahaṁsa,*[25] is well known not only as a dramatist, but also as a poet and commentator. Very little is known about his personal history. There is a tradition which makes him a member of the Kāṭṭumāṭas family in South Malabar. It is certain that he was a Kerala Brahmin, for the *Kamalinīrājahaṁsa* was written to be staged at the Śiva temple of Trichur.[26] And in the *Haṁsasandeśa*[27] Pūrṇasarasvati refers to Trivandrum, Trichur and Tṛccammaram. He was the disciple of Pūrṇajyotis, whom he praises in all his works. The names suggest that both Pūrṇajyotis and Pūrṇasarasvati were *saṁnyāsins*, possibly belonging to the Maṭha at Trichur.

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[23] *Viṣṇu Parvan,* cpts. 91-97.

[24] *KSSC,* I, p. 368.

[25] *DC* 12509; published in JT.

[26] See prologue : भगवतो वृषपुरविभोर्भवानीपतेः......
and the *Bharatavākya* :

मध्ये हेमसमं मनस्सु महतां मौलौ स्वभासां गिरां
मान्ये केरलभूललाम्नि वृषभग्रामे च नृत्यन्मुदा ।
आलिङ्गन् वदनश्रिया कमलिनीमामोदिनीमुद्रजां
नव्यो भातु नवव्यथाः शिथिलयन् भव्याय हंसो महान् ॥

[27] *TSS,* 129.

Regarding the date of Pūrṇasarasvati, R. V. Krishnamachariar stated[28] that it must be later than that of Mallinātha, whom the poet seems to refer in his commentary on the *Meghadūta*. But a comparative study of the two commentaries on the *Meghadūta* shows[29] that there is nothing to show that Pūrṇasarasvati had seen Mallinātha's commentary. Moreover, Payyūr Parameśvara, author of the *Haricarita*,[30] wrote the *Sumanoramaṇī* commentary on the *Meghadūta* attacking the views of Pūrṇasarasvati; his poignant criticisms of Pūrṇasarasvati show that the two poets were almost contemporaries. The other limit to his date is known from the fact that in his *Rasamañjarī* commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*, Pūrṇasarasvati quotes a passage from Citsukhācārya whose date must be about 1220—1284 A.D.[31] We have seen that Parameśvara cannot be later than the middle of the fourteenth century, since his great grandson Ṛṣi III and his son Parameśvara III were contemporaries of Uddaṇḍa Śāstri and Mānavikrama in the second half of the fifteenth century. Thus we can assign Pūrṇasarasvati to the first half of the fourteenth century; he must have been an elder contemporary of Parameśvara.

Pūrṇasarasvati has to his credit several works. Among his commentaries the *Vidyullatā* on the *Meghadūta* is, perhaps, the most popular. The *Rasamañjarī* on the *Mālatīmādhava*[32] is a comprehensive and exhaustive commentary, offering not only lucid explanations of words and phrases, but also discussions on variant readings and explanations of figures of speech. He quotes various authorities to support his statements. And above all he carefully brings out the beauty of the work by pointing out the aptness of the various phrases and expressions used. One special feature of his commentary is its extremely beautiful and ornate style. He has also written a short commentary, called *Ṭippaṇa*,[33] on the *Anargharāghava* of Murāri. His *Bhaktimandākinī* commentary[34] on the *Viṣṇupādādikeśastotra* of Śaṅkara is also well-known.[35] The *Ṛjulaghvī*[36] is a short poem of Pūrṇasarasvati, containing 266 verses composed in various metres, giving the intricate plot of the *Mālatīmādhava* in a straight and brief manner. Nineteen verses are inserted from the original drama itself. The *Haṁsasandeśa*, or *Hamsadūta*,[37] is a short poem of 102 verses in the *Mandākrāntā* metre describing how a lady residing in Kāñcīpura sends a love message through a swan to Lord Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana. On the way are described the Cola country, Śrīraṅgam, the river Tāmraparṇī, Trivandrum, Trichur and Tṛccammaram in Kerala, the river Kālindī, etc. Here we find a happy combination of devotion and love.

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[28] Introduction to *Vidyullatā* on the *Meghadūta*, Śrī Vāṇivilās Sanskrit Series Śrīraṅgam.

[29] Dr. C. Kunhan Raja *Pūrṇasarasvati PO*, IX pp. 142ff.

[30] ALS. *Vide supra* section on Payyūr Bhaṭṭas. Also see Introduction to *Sumanoramaṇī JT*, II.

[31] While commenting verse 1 of Act VII:

"तमालश्यामलज्ञानै इति चित्सुखाचार्यप्रयोगात् ।"

See Introduction to *Kamalinīrājahaṁsa* JT, III. Citsukha's date is given there as the end of the 13th century; Dr. P. K. Gode, on whose authority that date is given, has revised his view. See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Literary Studies*, Vol. I, p. 229.

[32] *TSS* 170.

The *Kamalinīrājahaṁsa*[38] is a drama in five acts describing the love between Rājahaṁsa, the king of swans, and Kamalini, a lotus of the Pampā lake, and their subsequent marriage. The course of their love is obstructed by enemies like Kālamegha (the thundercloud), Puromāruta (storm) and the hero's rival who is an elephant chief of the Vidhya mountain. Pūrṇasarasvati seems to be influenced by the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra; but in this drama there is no allegorical implication, though the characters are all drawn direct from nature.[39]

Pūrṇasarasvati compares the sweet words of poets to the sacred *havis* intended for the gods, and the miserly critics are compared to the dogs coming to desecrate it:

रसयतु सुमनोगणः प्रकामं पिशुनशुनां वदनैरदूषितानि ।
कविभिरुपहृतानि दीप्तजिह्वैरतिसरसानि हवींषि वाङ्मयानि ॥

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[33] *T* 859.

[34] Śrī Vāṇi Vilās Sanskrit Series Śrirangam.

[35] *R* 3181c.
It has been published from Śrī Vāṇīvilās Press Śrīraṅgam.

[36] Edited by N. A. Gore., *POS*, 1943.

[37] *TSS* 129.

[38] Published in JT, 1-2 ff.

[39] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer says that it is allegorical and that there is a philosophical meaning to the story (*KSC* II, p. 17).

Another verse from the drama is given below:

वाणी ममास्तु वरणीयगुणौघवन्ध्या श्लाघ्या तथापि विदुषां शिवमाश्रयन्ती ।
दासी नृपस्य यदि दारपदे नियुक्ता देवीति सापि बहुमानपदं जनानाम् ॥

Many other works are attributed to Pūrṇasarasvati by tradition.[40] It is said that he has commented on *Śivakeśādipādastava*,[41] *Uttararāmacarita*,[42] *Śiśupālavadha*[43] and the *Śākuntala*.[44] He is also said to have written an epitome of Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.[45] We do not know how far we can depend on these traditional stories. The *Carmaṇvatīcarita*[46] attributed to him is a short poem on the story of Rantideva, incorporated in the *Vidyullatā* commentary on the *Meghadūta*.

(iv) *Kalyāṇasaugandhika*

The *Kalyāṇasaugandhika*[47] of Nīlakaṇṭha is an excellent one-act play of the Vyāyoga type dealing with the *Mahābhārata* story of Bhīma fetching for Draupadī the Saugandhika flowers growing in a mysterious lake belonging to Kubera on the Gandhamādana mountain. On his way back Bhīma enters the plantain grove of the ape-god Hanumat who, also like him, is the son of the wind-god. Bhīma defies Hanumat, without recognizing him, and they begin to fight. A Vidyādhara by name Kalyāṇaka, an emissary of Indra, interrupts the combat by revealing to Bhīma and Hanumat their mutual relation, and all ends well. The name *Kalyaṇasaugandhika* given to the play may be due to the important role played by the flower *Saugandhika* and the Vidyādhara named Kalyāṇaka who brings about the resolution of the story.[48] Some scholars explain the word *Kalyāṇa* as indicative of the happiness brought about to Bhīma and Hanumat; others think that the title means 'a golden Saugandhika flower'. The first explanation seems to be the best.[49]

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[40] See N. A. Gore Introduction to *Ṛjulaghvī* p. 15.
[41] Introduction to *Haṁsadūta* p. iv.
[42] *HCSL*, p. 624.
[43] Introduction to *Vidyullatā*.
[44] *KSC* II, p. 15.
[45] *HCSL*, p. 624; M. R. Kavi, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, I (GOS), p. 10 f.
[46] *KSC*, II, p. 15.
[47] Edited by L. D. Barnett, *BSOS*, III, pp. 33-50.
[48] Ulluṛ S. Paramesvara Iyer *SPT*, II, p. 316.
[49] *Ibid.*

About the author Nīlakaṇṭha we know very little. In the prologue the author says[50] that he belonged to a Brahmin Agrahāra having Pārvatī as its presiding deity. According to one tradition he was a Cākyār belonging to the Maṇiyil Cākyār Maṭham in Kurumbranad Taluq in North Malabar.[51] Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer says[52] that the author of the drama must have been a Nambūtiri Brahmin. There is no evidence in the text to support either contention. It is a popular drama staged by the Cākyārs in Kerala; hence it is quite likely that the author belonged to Kerala.

The *Kalyāṇasaugandhika* seems to be an old drama. Āttūr Krishna Pisharoti assigned him to the ninth century;[53] but it is certain that Nīlakaṇṭha must be much later than Śaktibhadra. The phrase नृत्यन्मत्तविलासजां धनपतेः प्रीतिं करिष्याम्यहम् in the text[54] seems to be intended as a veiled reference to the *Mattavilāsa Prahasana* of the Pallava king Mahendravikrama of the seventh century A.D. Ullur Paramesvara Iyer assigns him to the tenth century A.D., while V. Rajarajavarma Raja thinks that he must have lived about the fifteenth century. The relation of the play to the Bhāsa plays has been fully discussed by L. D. Barnett.[55]

(v) *Kamalinīkalahaṁsa*

The *Kamalinīkalahaṁsa*[56] is a drama in six acts by Nīlakaṇṭha belonging to the well-known Nambūtiri family of Kūḍallūr in

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[50] आज्ञागुणेन गुणविद्भिरभिष्टुतानां
कात्यायनीचरणपङ्कजभक्तिभाजाम् ।
षट्कर्मिणां निवसतौ परमाग्रहारे
प्राप्त प्रसूतिरुपसेवितवान् कविर्नः ॥
तदस्य नीलकण्ठनाम्नः कल्याणसौगन्धिकं नाम...... ।

[51] *KSSC*, II, p. 597.

[52] He takes the reading of the verse in the prologue asउपसेवितवान् गुरुर्नः and explains it as showing that Nīlakaṇṭha's father was a member of the Brahmin Agrahāra. But according to V. Venkataramasarma, the correct reading is उपसेवितवाग्गुरुर्नः । (*BSOS*, III, p. 36n.).

[53] *Bhāsanāṭakacarcā*, quoted by Ullur S. P. Iyer, *SPT*, II, p. 316.

[54] verse 17.

[55] *BSOS*, III p. 35.

[56] *DC* 12505. See also Sten Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 108; *HCSL*, p. 656; *KSSC*, II, pp. 578 ff; *KSC*, III, p 59 f.

Nāreri near Pattambi.[57] It deals with the story of the love between Kamalinī, daughter of Candravarman and the hero Kalahaṁsa. Their union is effected with the help of Vijñānapati. Cakora and Kumudvatī are the friends of the hero and the heroine respectively. The influence of the *Mālatīmādhava* and the *Śākuntala* is found in the play. The style is quite lucid and clear. Nīlakaṇṭha writes fluently with perfect ease. He himself says about the drama as containing:

प्रकटभूरिगुणो वचसां चयो विजयि सौहृदमेव च वाल्घवम् ।
अनुपमप्रणयप्रमदावहं निखिलमेव च दम्पतिचेष्टितम् ॥

The play is supposed to be staged during the Yātrā festival of God Viṣṇu of Anantāsanapura.[58]

From the prologue to the play[59] we know that its author Nīlakaṇṭha was the third son of another Nīlakaṇṭha, of the Kūḍallūr family. There is one Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Brahmadatta, of the same family who has written the *Laghuvivaraṇa* commentary on the *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra.*[60] The grandfather of this Nīlakaṇṭha was named Nārayaṇa.[61] It is quite possible that the dramatist is identical with the son of the commentator. Nīlakaṇṭha is a common name among the Nambūtiris in Kerala and it is very difficult to say anything definitely about the identification. The date of the commentator is later than Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, since he refers to the *Uṇādi* section of the *Prakriyāsarvasva*.[62] The dramatist may also belong to the seventeenth or eighteenth century A.D.[63]

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[57] See the following passage in the prologue:—

अस्ति हि सङ्गमग्रामं नाम गृहम् । तत्र,
अभूवन् गाथिकुलजाः कुशलाः सर्वकर्मसु ।
द्विजा हरिपदाम्भोजस्मरणाहतकिल्बिषाः ॥
आसीन्महत्तरस्तेषां नीलकण्ठ इति श्रुतः ।
तृतीयस्तस्य तनयो नीलकण्ठकविस्त्विह ॥

(Saṅgamagrāma is Kūḍallūr).

[58] Ulūr S. P. Iyer (*loc.cit.*) identifies the place with Trippunittura.

[59] *Vide supra.*

[60] *R* 2721, *R* 3133.

[61] See the following verses from the commentary:—

कूडल्लूरुपुरि भार्गवधाम्नि प्रापुषा जननमात्मधामनि ।
ब्रह्मदत्ततनयेन गुम्फिता शोध्यतां कृतिरियं बुधोत्तमैः ॥
जज्ञे यज्ञेश्वरः प्रागुपनिलमधिपो यज्वनामाहिताग्नि-
स्तद्वंशोद्भूतनारायणबुधवरजात् गोत्रजाद्गाथिसूनोः ।
नागश्रेण्याख्यदेशोद्भवभवनजुषो ब्रह्मदत्तद्विजेन्द्रात्
जातो नाम्नां सहस्त व्यवृणुत गुरुकारुण्यतो नीलकण्ठः ॥

Yajñeśvara is Mel̲attol Agnihotrin from whom descended the Kūḍallūr family. 'Nāgaśreṇi' is 'Nāreri'.

(vi) *Pūrṇapuruṣārthacandrodaya*

The *Pūrṇapuruṣārthacandrodaya*[64] is an allegorical drama on the model of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*, and represents the union of Ānandapakvavallī with king Daśāśvan brought about by Suśraddhā, Subhakti and others. Daśāśvan, literally, 'the master of ten horses' stands for Ātman possessing the ten senses of man. Subhakti, Suśraddhā and others are personifications of good qualities. The various systems of thought such as the Cārvaka, the Jaina and the Bauddha are introduced as demons who are vanquished by the hero before his final union with the heroine.

What we know about the author is very little. The prologue does not give even the name of the author. On the basis of some verses found in a manuscript of the play,[65] it is stated that the

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[62] " येषामुणादिसूत्राणां पाठभेदसमुद्भवः ।
लिख्यन्ते प्रक्रियासर्वस्वोक्तरीत्यात्र तानि तु ॥ "

[63] M. Krishnamachariar (*HCSL*, p. 656) makes the dramatist a court poet of Vīrakeralavarman, king of Cochin (1561-65). He seems to have confused the Malayalam Campū writer Nīlakaṇṭha with the Sanskrit dramatist.

[64] *DC* 12540, 12541. S. Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 90; M. Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*, p. 681; Ullur, *KSC*, III, p. 77.

[65] *DC* 12541.

श्रीमद्दे ...न...टग्रामविसिनीसम्भवेषु ये ।
प्रथिताष्टगृहाब्जेषु प्रथिता.................
विश्वामित्रगोत्रजानां महाब्राह्मणसद्गिराम् ॥
अर्थान्वि ं प्रभजतां तेषां मध्येऽभवद् द्विजः ।
दक्षिणांशगृहः सोऽथ जातवेता हि नामतः
सोमयागं कृतवतस्तस्य जाया च पार्वती ।
तदुपादानदेहस्य परमेशकनीयसः ॥
..........याजिताश्रमसम्पदः ।
तुर्याश्रमनिविष्टस्य कृतिरेषा यथाबलम् ॥

In the Descriptive Catalogue of the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, while describing this manuscript (DC 12541) it is stated that the author is Jātavedas. Krishnamachariar accepts the statement, name of the author is Jātavedas. But the verses found there do not warrant such an interpretation. These verses state that the author belonged to one of the eight well-known aristocratic Nambūtiri families of Kerala,[66] that he belonged to the Viśvāmitra gotra, that he was the son of Jātavedas and Pārvatī, who had performed a Soma sacrifice, that he had a brother named Parameśvara, and that the drama was composed after the author became a saṁnyāsin. Some scholars have suggested that he might be a member of the Kūḍallūr family which is one of the eight aristocratic families of Kerala belonging to the Viśvāmitra gotra. E. V. Raman Nambutiri suggested that Jātavedas was a member of the Tekkeṭam family in Tiruvegappura on the banks of the Bhāratappuḻa, and that he could have been a member of the court of Mānavikrama of Calicut in the fifteenth century.[67] M. Krishnamachariar says[68] that Jātavedas lived in Malabar about 1800 A.D. It is impossible to say anything definitely in the matter. The term *"Dakṣiṇāṁśagṛhaḥ"* in the verse at the end of the manuscript shows that he was a member of Tekkeṭam or Tekkeppāṭṭu.[69]

The work has considerable literary merit.[70] It is written in a graceful and fluent style.

(vii) *Other Dramas*

The *Subālāvajratuṇḍa*[71] is a drama of five acts where Vajratuṇḍa, a rat, is the hero. His beloved Subālā is carried away by a snake named Raktāṅga as its prey; the hero attacks him with an army of rats, and recovers the heroine after killing the snake. The author of the drama is a prince named Rāma, or

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[66] There are eight original aristocratic Nambutiri families in Kerala. They are known as the *'Āḍhyas of Aṣṭagṛha'*.

[67] On the problem see E. V. Raman Nambutiri, *Introduction* to *Tantrasamuccaya* III, Travancore University Malayalam Series.

[68] *HCSL*, p. 681. There was a saṁnyāsin, Tekkeṭam Jātavedas Svāmiyār, in the beginning of the nineteenth century; but our author is only a son of Jātavedas.

[69] Ullur (*KSC*, III) takes it as *Tekkeppāṭṭu*. He too takes Jātavedas as the name of the author.

[70] e.g. See the description of the setting sun:—

कनकचषकमेतद् दर्शनीयं जलौघे
क्षिपति हि कृतभुक्तिः संप्रति क्षालनाय ।

[71] *DC* 12722.

Śrīrāma, who, according to M. Krishnamachariar,[72] belonged to Malabar. Nothing is known about his date and identity.

The *Indumatīrāghava*[73] is a drama representing the story of the marriage of Indumatī with Aja, son of Raghu. The author belonged to Kerala. He says in the prologue of the play that near the Śiva temple on the banks of the Prācī river in Kerala is a famous family of scholars to which his teacher Ravivarman belonged.[74] M. Krishnamachariar assigned[75] this work to Kākkaśseri Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa, but there is no evidence in support of the identification.[76]

The *Kalāvatīkāmarūpa*[77] of Kṛṣṇadāsa of the Kerala country describes the story of the marriage between Kalāvatī and Kāmarūpa, son of Kāmaketu who is the king of Kāśi. A Rākṣasa carries away Kalāvatī, and the hero rescues her, after killing the Rākṣasa. The play is written to be staged on the occasion of the festival of God Viṭṭhala, and the author is an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu.[78]

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[72] *HCSL*, p. 664. The text only says that it is by a prince named Rāma: 'श्रीरामनाम्ना नृपभुवा'

[73] *R* 3213. This is the only Ms. of the work. It breaks off in the beginning of the second act.

[74] See prologue:

"अस्ति किल केरलेषु....विप्रकुलपरिप्रान्ततटप्रदेशा प्राचीनामधेया सरित्प्रवरा।
तस्यास्तीरे विलसतितरां तारकाधीशमौलेः
क्षेत्रं तत्र प्रथितयशसामस्ति वस्त्यं प्रशस्तम् ।
कैलासानामजनि रविवर्माभिधेयस्तदीये
वंशे विद्याविहृतिनिलयः पथ्यबोधो नराणाम् ॥"
"देशिकस्यास्य करुणामवलम्ब्य परं बलम् ।
अकरोद्रूपकमिदं कोऽपि भूसुरबालकः ॥"

This passage is not clear. The term *Kailāsa* refers to the Vāriyar community, but the name Ravivarman suggests a king. Vaṭakkunkur Rajarajavarma Raja (*KSSC*, III) suggests that Prācī is Bhāratappuḻa, and Ravivarman a king of Veṭṭattunāḍ.

[75] *HCSL*, p. 250.

[76] *Vide supra.*

[77] *DC* 12511. It breaks off in Act V. Another Ms. is available in Trippunittura also.

[78] See the prologue: — आर्ये अहमिदानीं......विठ्ठलनाम्नोऽरिष्टासुरनिषूदनस्य यात्रावलोकनार्थं...कमलाकेलिनिकेतनं केरलाह्वयविषयविशेषः । तत्र,

लोकाभिरामचिकुरस्य रथाङ्गपाणेः पादाम्बुजैकशरणः करुणापयोधेः ।
कश्चित्कविः कविकृतिप्रतिगाढदृष्टिर्नाम्ना जनैनिगदितो नवकृष्णदासः ॥

M. Krishnamachariar assigns[79] Kṛṣṇadāsa to the end of the eighteenth century, but we do not know the source of his information.

The *Kumārīvilasita*[80] is a short play describing the holy deeds of Goddess Kumārī or Durgā worshipped at Prapāpura in the Kerala country. The author Sudarśana is the son of Mahīsāra, and belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. The play is supposed to be staged on the occasion of the festival of the Goddess at Prapāpura.[81] An incomplete anonymous commentary on the drama is also available.[82]

The *Damayantīkalyāṇa*[83] is a drama dealing with the story of Nala and Damayantī. Its author Raṅganātha was a Tamil Brahmin belonging to an Agrahāra on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī. The drama is supposed to be staged on the occasion of the spring festival of God Parameśvara of the Śucīndram temple.[84] There is reference to the Deity Padmanābha,[85] of the temple at Trivandrum, but not to any of the kings of Travancore. The work seems to be fairly late, but the exact date is not known.

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[79] *HCSL*, p. 698 n.

[80] *R* 3810 a.

[81] त्रिभुवनप्रथितप्रपापुरनिरन्तरविहारिण्याः......भगवत्या नारायण्या दिव्योत्सवसेवाप्रसङ्गतः सङ्गतैः....आर्यमिश्रैः ।

“भारद्वाजमहान्वयेऽजनि महीसाराभिधानो बुधः
श्रौतस्मार्तपुराणकर्तृकवितालङ्कारसङ्केतभूः ।
तस्मात्सोऽयमभूत् सुदर्शन इति ख्यातोऽनुगृह्णाति यं
निर्व्याजं दयया प्रपापुरकृतावासा मुहुर्मातृका ॥”

[82] *R* 3810 b.

[83] *R* 2914. It breaks off in the second act. Krishnamachariar says that it has five acts (*HCSL*, p. 186).

[84] See the prologue:

“शुचीन्द्राख्यपुरस्य...श्रीपरमेश्वरस्य भगवतो वसन्तोत्सवं विलोकयितुं.... समागतानां विदुषां समाजेन समादिष्टोऽस्मि । यथा अस्ति खलु रङ्गनाथनाम्ना द्विजेन कविनाधुना विरचितं दमयन्तीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ।

[85] Second Nāndī verse.

“...भद्रं वितरतु स कृपासङ्ग्रवः पद्मनाभः ॥”

The *Lakṣmīdevanārāyaṇīya*[86] is a drama of five acts having Devanārāyaṇa, the king of Ampalappuḷa, as its hero. The author Śrīdhara was a Brahmin under the patronage of the king who is praised in the prologue of the play.[87] Nothing more is known about Śrīdhara except that he was the student of a Brahmin scholar named Rāma.[88] The date of the play must be earlier than 1750; perhaps the patron of the poet may be the last of the ruling kings of Ampalappuḷa, in which case he can be assigned to the first half of the eighteenth century.

The *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*[89] is a Bhāṇa written to be staged on the occasion of the Yātrā festival of God Rāma of a temple on the banks of the Karimpuḷa. The author calls himself Ratikara, because he is able to produce happiness (*rati*) in the minds of all by his literary work.[90] Neither his real name, nor his date is known.

The *Śṛṅgārasundara*[91] is a drama belonging to the Bhāṇa type written by Īśvara Śarman, a native of Bimbalī, or Vaṭakkuṅkūr. The author was the student of a Brahmin of Vyāghraveśma (perhaps identical with Puliyannūr).[92] He seems to have been a protege of a king of Cochin.[93]

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[86] *TP* 1574.

[87] धीमन् श्रीदेवनारायणधरणिपते त्वद्गुणाम्भोधिवीची-
केलीलोलात्मना मज्जितजडमनसाप्येवमेतन्मया हि ।
कष्टं दुष्टं निकृष्टं गतरसविषयं नाटकं टीकमानं
युष्मत्कारुण्यमाध्वीरसपरिमिलितं मङ्गलं वोभवीतु ॥

[88] "कोविदकुमुदराजिद्विजराजरामनामगुरुः...स्य कस्यचिद् द्विजस्य श्रीधरनाम्नो निबन्धनम् ।

Ullūr (KSC, III, p. 301) suggests that this Rāma is Rāmapāṇivāda; but the equivocal use of *dvijarāja* indicates that Rāma was a Brahmin.

[89] *R* 5201.

[90] See the prologue:

नीलापगानिलयवर्यवास्तव्यस्य भगवतो जानकीरमणस्य यात्रायां....समादिष्टोऽस्मि परिषदा ।

"अस्ति हि स्वप्रबन्धेन सर्वेषां मनसो रतिम् ।
करोतीति भुवि ख्यातो नाम्ना रतिकरः कविः ॥

[91] *TP* 1574. See also *KSC*, III, p. 41 ff.

The *Vāsavīśāntanava*[94] is a drama by Prince Godavarman of Deśiṅganāḍ born under the asterism of Śatabhiṣak. It was written at the instance of a king of South Kerala named Rāmavarman, who had assumed the title of Kulaśekhara.[95] One unique feature of this drama is that all the characters speak Sanskrit.

The *Candrikājanamejaya*[96] is a drama by a Nambūtiri Brahmin of Kuḻikkāṭ (*Gartavana*). Another interesting work is the *Bhramarakāhalī*,[97] a Bhāṇa which contains reference to Ceṅṅannūr in Travancore.

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[92] "व्याघ्रवेश्मनिवासस्य द्विजराजशिरोमणेः ।
सद्गुरोर्यः कृपालेशात् साध्वीं शक्तिमवाप्तवान् ॥
विम्बलीवासिनस्तस्य कृतिरीश्वरशर्मणः ।
भवता नाटनीयोऽद्य भाणः शृङ्गारसुन्दरः ॥"

The first line refers to God Śiva of the Vaikkam temple, and a Brahmin of Vyāghraveśma family.

[93] See the following verse about the king of Cochin:

वीराग्रेसर लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रतापे ते प्रसर्पति ।
चित्रं शिशिरकालेऽपि प्रजाःशीतं न बाधते ॥

And Cochin is described as the capital of the king:

अतिरमणीयलक्ष्मीविलासोत्तरा गोश्रीर्नाम केरलराजानां राजधानी ।

[94] *TC* 1213 c; *KSC*, III, p. 56 f.

[95] See prologue:

श्रीरामराजेन्द्रकुलशेखरगुरुकरुणापरिपूरितविद्येन जयतुङ्गभूभुजा शतभिषगुत्पन्नेन गोदवर्मणा विरचितं वासवीशान्तनवं नाम नूतनं नाटकं ...

[96] *TC* 1281. A commentary is also available on the work.

[97] *JT*, VIII.

CHAPTER XII

MINOR WORKS

(i) *Sandeśakāvyas*

Among the different categories of minor poems which Kerala produced in abundance the Sandeśakāvya occupies a very important place. Though the poems of this class usually follow Kālidāsa's *Meghasandeśa* in structure and technique and are not of very great literary merit, they are noteworthy because of the large amount of information, geographical, historical and cultural, about mediaeval Kerala, which they give while describing the route the messenger has to follow. It is difficult to identify some of the places described, since the poets translate into Sanskrit even the proper names of places, or Sanskritize the Malayalam words themselves; all the same, a comparative study of the various Sandeśa poems does help in identifying many of the places. Some of these poems make references to contemporary scholars, which again is of much use in identifying many of the Sanskrit scholars, their families, works and dates.

The *Śukasandeśa*[1] is the earliest and the most popular *Sandeśakāvya* of Kerala. Tradition attributes it to a Nambūtiri Brahmin of Kariṅṅampilli house[2] on the banks of the Alwaye river. The author is known as Lakṣmīdāsa. According to one commentator the phrase "*Lakṣmyā raṅge*" at the beginning of the poem suggests that the name of the heroine is Lakṣmī, and that she belonged to the community of actresses.[3] The hero is the poet who calls himself Lakṣmīdāsa, servant of Lakṣmī.

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[1] First published by H. H. Ramavarma of Travancore, *JRAS*, (1884), pp. 401-438. On this poem see A. R. Rajarajavarma, *Two Sandeśas*, *MRQ*, II, pp. 285ff; T. K. Krishna Menon, *IHQ*, III, p. 220; *JRAS* (1900), p. 764; V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *KSSC*, I, pp. 334-46; K. Ramavarma Raja, *QJMS*, XIX, p. 96; Kunhikuttan Tampuran, *Maṅgalodayam*, III, p. 42f.

[2] M. Krishnamachariar takes Lakṣmīdāsa as different from Kariṅṅampilli Nambūtiri (*HCSL*, p. 368).

[3] *KSSC*, II, p. 695 f; where V. Rajarajavarma Raja quotes from *Śukasandeśa vyākṛti*:

एतेनैव रङ्गलक्ष्मीलक्षणं नायिकानामधेयं तस्या एव रङ्गोपजीविवर्गान्तःपातित्वं च दर्शितम् ।

There is a story[4] that as a boy Lakṣmīdāsa was very dull, and that the teacher, who got exasperated with him, was about to dismiss him, when the boy's mother showed him a hard stone which had become very smooth by the constant flow of water, suggesting thereby that by steady work even a dull boy could be taught well. The boy continued his studies, and in course of time became a great scholar. The following stray verse in praise of laziness and sleep is supposed to have been composed by Lakṣmīdāsa during his student days:

विद्याभिलाषकुपितां निजबालसख्या
तन्द्र्या कथञ्चिदनुनीय समीपनीताम् ।
चेतोहरां प्रणयिनीमखिलेन्द्रियेष्टां
निद्रां प्रसादयितुमद्य नमस्करोमि ॥

In the *Śukasandeśa* which is modelled on the *Meghasandeśa* of Kālidāsa a love message is sent through a parrot by a lover, who dreams that he is suddenly transported to Rāmeśvaram, to his wife at Tṛkkaṇāmatilakam near Cranganore. Starting from Rāmeśvaram[5] the parrot comes to Kerala, the country ruled by Brahmins. Through Cape Comorin and Śucīndram he has to reach Trivandrum well known for its famous temple. From there he will have to reach Quilon, the capital of the Kūpaka kings. Then crossing two rivers, and passing through Tiruvalla and Kaṭatturuttu near Vaikkam he reaches the Phullā (Mūvāṭṭupuḷa) river, and a village of learned Brahmins. Then on the way are described the Viṣṇu temple at Trippunittura, the Subrahmaṇya temple at Vayattil, and a Śiva temple, probably that of Tṛkkarūr. The poet further describes the river Cūrṇī, and the sports of the ladies of Mahodayapura.[6] Then comes the Kālī temple at Cranganore. From there the messenger comes to Guṇakā or Tṛkkaṇāmatilakam, which is his destination.

There has been a great deal of unnecessary controversy regarding the date of the poem.[7] It cannot be later than the fourteenth century A.D., since a passage[8] from it is quoted in the fourteenth century Malayalam poem *Uṇṇunīlisandeśam.*[9] The similarity of the descriptions of the places in the *Śukasandeśa* and the *Uṇṇunīlisandeśam* suggests that the dates of these two poems cannot be far removed from each other. The reference to the ordeal at Śucīndram[10] found in the *Śukasandeśa* suggests that the work cannot be much earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. The poem may be assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D.[11]

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[4] *KSSC*, I, p. 334 f.

[5] About the route see Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *Some Sandeśa Kāvyas And Malabar Geography*, Dr. B. C. Law Volume, II, pp. 293ff.

[6] चूर्णी महोदयपुरवधूरोजचूर्णीकृतोर्मिः ।

[7] *KSSC*, I, pp. 334 f. The phrase '*Lakṣmyā raṅge*' at the beginning of the poem was supposed by some to refer to the Kali year of composition of the work; some others took the phrase *Dūranītas sa tasyāḥ* in the same line as referring to the Kali date of its composition. The former (112 A.D.) is too early, and the latter (1491 A.D.) too late for the poem.

The *Śukasandeśa* is an excellent imitation of the *Meghasandeśa.* The style is chaste and dignified, but not as lucid as that of Kālidāsa. The poet is able to give equal importance to the sound and the sense. Seven commentaries on the poem are known :

(i) *Vilāsinī* by Mānaveda[12] who has also commented on Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇacampū.* It is an elaborate and exhaustive commentary, and is very popular.

(ii) *Varavarṇinī*[13] by Dharmagupta contains an excellent introduction dealing with the different aspects of the poem.

(iii) *Cintātilaka*[14] by Gaurīdāsa about whom very little is known.

(iv) *Padārthadīpikā*[15] of unknown authorship.

(v) *Śukasandeśavyākṛti* of unknown authorship.[16]

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[8] 'आस्था लोके विपुलमनसाम् ' । Phrases like कुलपुरीं कूपकाधीश्वराणां, पुनर्दर्शनानन्दलक्ष्मीः have also been taken from this poem by the Malayalam writer.

[9] National Bookstall, Kottayam, 1955.

[10] "आलक्ष्यन्ते भुवि तनुभृतामात्महस्ते फलानि" refers to the *Kaimukku* ordeal. For details see Dr. K. K. Pillai, *Śucīndram Temple.*

[11] On the date see Ilankulam Kunjan Pilla, *Cila Caritra Praśnaṅṅal,* II.

[12] Edited from Kalpatti, 1890, and from Palghat, 1891. On Mānaveda, see ch. V.

[13] *R* 2774.

[14] *R* 2819; see also *KSSC,* III, pp. 460 ff for details.

[15] *R* 5397.

[16] Mentioned by V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *KSSC,* II, p. 695 f. The only manuscript is with Naṭuvannūr Nantānāśśeri Mūttatu, N. Malabar.

(vi) A commentary by Keralavarma Valiya Koyil Tampuran.[17]

(vii) An elaborate commentary by the late K. Rama Pisharoti.[18]

The *Mayūrasandeśa*[19] by Udaya Rāja, author of the commentary called *Kaumudī* on Abhinavagupta's *Dhvanyālokalocana*,[20] deserves a high place among the *Sandeśakāvyas* from Kerala, not only because of its intrinsic literary merit, but also because of its importance in shedding light on the historical and geographical conditions of mediaeval Kerala. In the *Kaumudī* on *Locana* Udaya quotes some verses as his own, one of which is found with slight modification in the *Mayūrasandeśa*.[21] This shows that the commentator Udaya is identical with the author of the poem; it also shows that Udaya might have written some other poetic works from which the other verses[22] have been taken.

The hero of the poem seems to be Udaya himself. He belonged to the royal family which had the title *Śrīkaṇṭha* for its eldest member. The heroine is Umā,[23] described by poets as Māracemanṭikā, belonging to the Taccapilli house[24] near Annakara, about eight miles to the north of Trichur. It is said that she was also known as *Iṭṭimā.*[25] From a comparative study of the poem with the Malayalam poem *Candrotsvam* where also we find prince Śrīkaṇṭha (Kaṇṭan Kota) and Māracemantikā as important personages, Dr. Kunhan Raja has concluded[26] that Udaya belonged to the Manakkulam family, which has even now the hereditary title of Śrīkaṇṭha (Kaṇṭan Kota).

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[17] *JRAS*, 1884, pp. 439 ff.

[18] Manuscript with Kuṭṭamaśśeri Nārāyaṇa Pisharoti, Trichur.

[19] Edited with an Introduction, Sanskrit commentary and Notes by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Poona Oriental Series, 84, 1944.

[20] The first *Udyota* published from the Kuppusvami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras, 1944.

[21] He quotes the following verse in the commentary with the remark, यथा ममैव मयूरदूते काव्ये,

सा जागर्ति स्वपिति च मुधा मूकतामेत्यबद्धं
ब्रूते रोदित्यविकमतुलं धैर्यमालम्बते च ।
मूर्छां प्राप्नोत्यपि च भजते चेतनामित्यशक्तो
वक्तुं वेधा अपि विरहजव्यापृतीरङ्गनानाम् ॥

[22] e.g. "कुचसीमनि कुटिलदृशां घुसृणरसाः शारदीषु रजनीषु ।
चन्द्ररुचः सुन्दरतां दधति व्यङ्ग्येषु चैव सुकविगिरः ॥ "

[23] See लब्धोमाया इयमिति चिरादर्चितायाः प्रसादा-
दत्यामोदी गुरुजन उमेत्येव यामुद्गृणीते ।
मारस्यास्त्रं मनसिजमनोजित्वरं पौष्पमन्यत्
[illegible]न्योऽसाविति कविगणो मारचेमन्निकेति ॥

Seeing the hero and the heroine sitting on the terrace of the palace, the celestial beings mistook them to be the Divine couple, Umā and Śrīkaṇṭha, and worshipped them. The hero laughed at them, and was consequently cursed by them and had to be separated from his wife for a month. From Trivandrum, which was chosen as the place of his exile, the hero sends a love message to his sweetheart through a peacock. The route from Trivandrum to Annakara is described in detail. First the messenger has to start along the coast, through Varkkala, to Quilon. Then turning slightly to the east, he has to go to Kottayam through Kaṇṭiyūr, the capital of Kāyaṅkulam. Passing Ēṭṭumānūr, and crossing the Phullā river (Mūvāṭṭupuḷa), he comes to Trippunittura, the residence of the Cochin royal family. Then crossing the Alwaye river, and passing through Chendamangalam, Cranganore and Irinjalakkuda, the messenger comes to Brahmakkala, and from there to Annakara, where resides the heroine Māracemantikā.

In point of technique the poem follows the fourteenth century Malayalam work *Uṇṇunīlisandeśa;* the influence of Lakṣmīdāsa's *Śukasandeśa* is also quite apparent in the poem. These three poems have much in common in the description of places, as the routes described in them overlap one another. Uddaṇḍa is mentioned as a great poet in one of the verses in the *Mayūrasandeśa;*[27] but the influence of the *Kokilasandeśa* is not felt in the poem. Since Udaya refers to Uddaṇḍa Śāstri he cannot be earlier than the fifteenth century; the reference suggests that he was a younger contemporary of Uddaṇḍa. But since in the *Candrotsavam* which seems to be almost contemporaneous with the *Mayūrasandeśa* there is reference to the Europeans coming in Patamar,[28] that has to be assigned at least to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and consequently Udaya has also to be taken to that period.[29]

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[24] "तच्चपिल्लीत्यखिलविदितं नामधेयं यदीयम्।"

[25] There is an old Malayalam verse about her (see *MW*, 24-7-1955, p. 3):

Uṟa perukina Taccappilliyoṇḍiṭṭimāyend-
alarśaranoru viccappalliyampattyudāram
atu miḻikalil elkkil toḻa māṟokka nīṟum
cati keṭayatu māṛattelkkil māl okke māṟum.

[26] *op.cit.*, Introduction. See also his paper on *Kaumudī*, *PO*, VIII—1-2. Sardesai Special Number. K. Rama Pisharoti (*JGRI*, I, pp. 445ff) suggested the identification of the author with a member of the Villarvaṭṭam family. But from the poem it is clear that he was eligible for the title Śrīkaṇṭha.

The *Subhagasandeśa*[30] is a poem by Nārāyaṇa, a Nambūtiri Brahmin who was patronised by Rāmavarman, king of Quilon (Jayasiṁhanāḍ), and also his nephew.[31] In this *Sandeśakāvya* the lover's messenger is Subhaga, a *snātaka* Brahmin of *Lāṭa* country who is asked to take a love message from Cape Comorin to Trichur which is the residence of his wife. Probably Nārāyaṇa might have been a native of Trichur, a city which he calls the daughter of Kerala sitting on her mother's lap.[32]

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[27] उद्दण्डाख्यः सुरभिकवितासागरेन्दुः कवीन्द्र-
स्तुण्डीरक्ष्मावलयतिलकस्तत्र चेत् सन्निधत्ते ।
श्राव्यामुष्य त्रिदशतटिनीवेगवैदग्ध्यदोग्ध्री
वाग्धाटी सा विजितरयसंफुल्लमल्लीमधूली ॥

[28] "*Patumarahūṇāḥ*"

[29] Usually Udaya is taken to be a contemporary of Uddaṇḍa; but the reference need not necessarily mean that both are contemporaries.

[30] *TP* 2004. See Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer, 'An Unpublished Sandeśakāvya and its bearing on the history of Kerala', *Kerala Society Papers*, II-10, pp. 235-48; *SPT*, 1, pp. 1-16; A. R. Rajarajavarma, *MQR*, II, p. 296; *JRAS*, (1884), pp. 449ff; *IHQ*, III, pp. 273ff.

[31] See the last verse of Part I:

यस्य स्वामी यदुकुलपतिर्नामतो रामवर्मा
यस्य श्रीमान् भवति परमं दैवतं भागिनेयः ।
उद्यन्माध्वीरसपरिमले तस्य सन्देशकाव्ये
हृद्यो नारायणकवयितुः पूर्वभागः समाप्तः ॥

[32] तेषां मध्ये त्रिपुरजयिनो नित्यसान्निध्ययोगात्
प्राप्या पुण्या तव वृषपुरी प्राणनाथास्पदं मे ।
यामुत्सङ्गे कुसुमरजसा धूसराङ्गीं प्रमोदात्
केलीलोलामिव दुहितरं केरलोर्वी दधाति ॥

Ullūr S. Parameṣvara Iyer identifies[33] Nārāyaṇa's patron Rāmavarman with the king of that name who ruled Quilon from 1541 to 1547 A.D. E. V. Raman Nambutiri,[34] on the other hand, identifies the author of the *Subhagasandeśa* with Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa himself; perhaps the reference to Yajñanārāyaṇa found in the poem may be responsible for this theory; but the Yajñanārāyaṇa mentioned in the poem is only a financial officer posted at Courtallam by the king of Quilon,[35] whereas Yajñanārāyaṇa referred to by Melpputtūr in the *Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā* is a Sanskrit scholar from the Tamil country. Moreover the style of this poem is much inferior to that of Melpputtūr. Though Nārāyaṇa had high notions about his poetic talents,[36] the real value of the poem lies mainly in the fact that it gives some historical and topographical information about ancient Kerala. The reference to the king of Quilon and to the Zamorin of Calicut[37] and the silence about the king of Cochin may suggest that the poem was written at a time when Cochin had lost its importance.

The route described from Cape Comorin to Trichur is through the Tamil country; the messenger is to go to Chidambaram and then come back to Kerala through Palghat. Many important temples in the Tamil country like Tenkāśi, Śrīvallipputtūr, Tirupparakkundram, Chidambaram, Śrīraṅgam, and Kumbakonam are described; this shows that the poet was a widely travelled person.

The *Kāmasandeśa*[38] of Mātṛdatta is one of the less known *Sandeśakāvyas* of Kerala. Here the love messenger is Kāma (Cupid) himself. While enjoying the company of his wife, the hero is suddenly taken away by a Rākṣasa to Cidambara. The message is sent from there to his wife Candralakṣmī at Tirunāvāya. On the way are noted places like the river Kāverī, the Brahmin *Agrahāra* at Kaṇḍaramāṇikya, Madhyārjuna, Kumbakoṇam, Śrīraṅgam, Koṅkaṇam, the Perūr temple at Coimbatore (Bhaṭṭīśvara), Palghat, the river Nilā, the village called Maṅgala where at that time lived a poet named Maṅgalam, Tiruvilvāmala, Trichur, Tirumittakkode and Koṭikkunnu. Mātṛdatta mentions a king of Cochin named Rāmavarman who abolished the tax on pilgrims,[39] and built a palace at Trichur.[40] He also speaks of a Brahmin scholar named Nīlakaṇṭha near Koṭikkunnu;[41] and of the poet Maṅgalam at the village of Maṅgala.[42] The reference to the Māmāṅkam festival found in the second part of the poem shows that the work cannot be later than 1743 A.D. when the last Māmāṅkam was celebrated. The poem is divided into two sections containing 67 and 69 verses respectively.

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[33] *loc,cit.*

[34] Introduction to *Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā.*

[35] "............राजकोशस्य गोप्ता
यच्छेदन्नं पथि बहुगुणं यज्ञनारायणस्ते ॥"

[36] See the last verse:
मुक्तारत्नं मलयमरुतं चन्दनं च प्रसूय
प्रख्याता दिक् कविमपि तथासोष्ट कीर्त्यै कनिष्ठम् ।

[37] गीतं क्रीडाविधिषु सुदृशां पङ्क्तिभिः पद्मिनीनां
पारे पारे निशमय यशः पर्वताब्धीश्वराणाम् ॥

[38] The only Manuscript of the work was got from Idappilli palace by E. V. Raman Nambutiri, and is now in the Trivandrum *MSS.* Library. On the work see Ullur S. Paramesvara Iyer, *SPT*, X, pp. 360-81.

The *Kokasandeśa*[43] is one of the less important *Sandeśa kāvyas* of Kerala. A certain prince, enjoying the company of his wife, is the victim of a trick by a magician who gives him a talisman which has the power to make the person wearing it feel that he is in a place far away. Thus mentally transferred to a distant place, and suffering an illusory separation from his wife, the prince sends a message to her through a *Koka* bird. The messenger has to go from Śrīvihāra to Kāmārāma; on the way lie the places Vāraṇa, Lake Sundara, the Capital Sacandra and the Śāstā temple at Pūrṇānanda. The existence of these places is only in the poet's imagination. The author is Viṣṇutrāta, a Nambūtiri Brahmin of Vāḻappilli house (Rambhāvihāra) near Karūppaṭana, in Cochin.[44] He says that he had a friend named Brahmadatta. This information does not help us in fixing the date of Viṣṇutrāta, since there have been several Brahmadattas in Kerala.[45] The poem is highly artificial, and has no importance from geographical or literary point of view. The poet has a good command of the language; but he suffers from lack of taste. His use of *double entendre* to compare beautiful women to the monkey god Hanumat[46] shows the extent to which his enthusiasm has led him in that direction. He could be lucid, if he wanted; and some of his exaggerated statements have an attraction of their own.[47]

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[39] यात्राशुल्कं सकलजगतामस्ति यत्र प्रभूतं
तत्रस्थैस्तैर्नृपतिपशुभिर्भुज्यमानं बलेन ।
माटक्षोणीवलभिदखिलत्राणनैपुण्यचुञ्चु-
र्दुर्वारं यत्प्रशमितकथं निर्ममे रामवर्मा ॥

[40] काचित् सौम्यां दिशि पुनरसौ राजधानी समिन्धे
सृष्टा राज्ञा प्रथितयशसा रामवर्माभिधेन ॥

[41] यस्योदीच्यां दिशि निवसति क्ष्मासुरो नीलकण्ठो
लोके कालक्षपितयजने धर्मतत्वे प्रलीने ।
स्मृत्वा साक्षात् स्वविधिनियमध्वंसविध्वस्तधैर्यो
धर्मस्थित्यै पुनरजनि बोधायनो यत्स्वरूपः ॥

Ullūr (*loc.cit.*) identifies this Nīlakaṇṭha with Taikkāṭ Yogiyār.

[42] नत्वा देवीं पटुगति रटन् मङ्गलं गच्छ देशं
तद्भूरत्नं द्विजमपि तथा मङ्गलं मङ्गलाख्यम् ।
वाग्गुम्भस्य स्मर रचयितुं काङ्क्षितस्योक्तशेषं
निर्मातुं यन्मिषकृतवपुः कालिदासः पुनर्भूः ॥

[43] *TSS*, 125. On this poem see E. P. Radhakrishnan, *JORM*, X, p. 270; E. V. Raman Nambutiri, *SPT*, II-4, pp. 416ff,

The *Bhṛṅgasandeśa*,[48] also called the *Bhramarasandeśa*, is an important poem containing much historical and geographical information about ancient Kerala. While the hero is sleeping with his wife on a moonlit night in her mansion at Śvetagurga, a Yakṣī sees him, and being infatuated by him, carries him away to the Malaya mountain. But on her way she finds her consort coming towards her, and drops the hero down. As a result the hero finds himself at Trivandrum, away from his wife Bālanīlī (Uṇṇunīlī). He spends a few days there. Then he meets a bee, whom he requests to carry his message to his wife. Then follows the description of the route from Trivandrum to the destination Śvetadurga, which may be identified with the modern Kottakkal or Nirankaitakkoṭṭa.[49] The house name of the heroine is given as *Bālayakṣa*, which may be the Sanskritized form of *Ceriyakkam*.

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[44] See the last verse of the poem:

आसीद् विप्रो हरिनतिरतः कोऽपि रम्भाविहारे
विष्णुत्रातो द्विजपरिवृढब्रह्मदत्तैकमित्रः ।
तेनैकस्मिन् सपदि रचिते कोकसन्देशकाव्ये
पूर्णस्तावत् समजनि गुणैरप्यसौ पूर्वभागः ॥

[45] K. Sambasiva Sastri (Introduction to *Kokasandeśa*, p. 2) suggests that Viṣṇutrāta may be a contemporary of Melpputtūr.

[46] Part II, verse 32.

[47] See Part II, verse 22.

[48] Edited by K. Sambasiva Sastri, *TSS*, 128. On this poem see also: *JRAS* (1884), pp. 449ff; *JRAS* (1925), p. 271; *IHQ*, III, pp. 273ff; *BSOS*, V, 798ff; *ZII*, IV, p. 225; *QJMS*, XIV, p. 309; XXI, p. 228; *JORM*, X, p. 271; *POC*, Tiruppati, pp. 187ff; *Dr. B. C. Law Volume*, II, pp. 293ff; *SPT*, I, pp. 127ff, 322ff, 352ff, 375ff; *KSSC*, I, p. 159; *KSC*, II, pp. 339ff; *KSSC*, II, pp. 197-226; *Siddhabhārati*, II, pp. 217ff.

The route starting from Trivandrum lies through the country ruled over by king Ravivarman.[50] First, the messenger will reach Quilon, the capital of the Kūpaka kings. Then he will have to cross a river and reach Vallabhagrāma (Tiruvalla). Then crossing a forest, he comes to Dakṣiṇabimbalī (Tekkuṅkūr) ruled over by Udayamārttaṇḍa. From there he has to go to Kumāranallūr and from there to Vaṭakkuṅkūr ruled over by Godavarman. The next place described is the capital of Devanārāyaṇa, king of Ampalappuḻa. Then passing through the country full of coconut trees, which is ruled over by Ravivarman, he is to reach the famous Śiva temple at Vaikkam (Vyāghrapura). Afterwards he has to cross a river, and then he reaches Trippunittura. Then is mentioned the ancestral palace of the Cochin kings on the west coast, which may perhaps be the palace built by the Dutch. Tiruvañcikkulam is the next place described. The Śiva temple there is called Pañcaraṅga (Sanskritized form of *añcukalam*). Fight was going on there between the king of Cochin and the Zamorin of Calicut. The poet says that the bee may be mistaken for a gun-shot by the soldiers, who might fall on the ground and be an object of ridicule thereby.[51] The Kurumbā temple at Cranganore, and Guṇaka (Tṛkkaṇāmatilakam) under the rule of the king of Cochin who was having his military camp there are then described. Further on the way are the Viṣṇu temple at Irinjālakuḍa, the Durgā temple at Ūrakam (Valayageha), the Śiva temple at Trichur (Vṛṣādri), the Viṣṇu temple Guruvāyūr (Samīrālaya), the country of Aḻvāñceri Tamprākkal (Netranārāyaṇa), the temple at Mūkkola

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[49] Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, "Some Sandeśakāvyas and Malabar Geography", *Dr. B. C. Law Volume*, II, pp. 293ff.

[50] राज्यं दृष्ट्या कलय रविवर्मावनीन्द्रस्य सम्पत्
प्राज्यं............त्रिभुवनपतेर्धाम येन प्रतेने ॥

[51] तस्यां स्फोटस्फुटितगुलिकावर्षिदिङ्मण्डलायां
त्वय्युत्कूजत्त्वरितगमने निष्पतत्यम्बरेण ।
त्वामप्येके झटिति गुलिकां त्रापुषीमापतन्तीम्
मत्वा लीनाश्चकितमवनौ हास्यतां दर्शयेयुः ॥

(Muktisthala), the Ponnani river and the Viṣṇu temple at Tirunāvāy. At Tirunāvāy the poet describes the great national festival of Māmāṅka presided over by the Zamorin of Calicut.[52] Then comes Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr, where the famous astrologer Acyuta Piṣāroṭi lived. Nearby is Candanakkāvu (Pāṭīravāṭī) where lived at that time the great poet Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and his father Mātṛdatta. Further on is the country of the Vallabha kings (Valluvanāḍ), and then the city called Śvetadurga, the destination of the messenger. The chief of that place is called Kṛṣṇagovinda.

The author of the poem is one Vāsudeva. He mentions Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr Acyuta Piṣāroṭi, Melpputtūr Mātṛdatta and his son Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; he also speaks of the rheumatic patients who get cured by worshipping in the temple at Guruvāyūr.[53] This suggests that Vāsudeva must have written the poem sometime after 1587 A.D. when the *Nārāyaṇīya* was composed, and before 1621 A.D., the date of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi's death. The reference to the king Ravivarman who built the Padmanābha temple at Trivandrum shows that the poem must have been written after 1619, the year of completion of the rebuilding of the temple.[54] The reference to the Māmāṅka festival does not necessarily show that the poem was written during the time when it was taking place.

K. Rama Pisharoti tries[55] to identify this Vāsudeva with the protege of the king of Veṭṭattunāḍ, named Ravivarman; there is no evidence for this identification, which seems unlikely since in the *Bhramarasandeśa* there is no reference to that king. His suggestion that Vāsudeva must have been a member of the Payyūr family is also unfounded. All that we can say about the author is that he was a contemporary of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.

That Vāsudeva has been influenced by the *Uṇṇunīlisandeśa* is quite clear. In both a Yakṣī takes away the hero, while sleeping

[52] यस्मिन् विस्मापितभुजबलप्रक्रमो विक्रमक्ष्मा-
बन्धुः सिन्धुप्रतिभटचमूचक्रविक्रान्तलोकः ।
नानादेशोच्चलितसुमनोवृन्दसानन्ददत्त-
श्लाघो माघोत्सवमुपविशंस्तिष्ठते दुष्टहन्ता ॥

[53] See chapter on Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.

[54] *KSC*, II, p. 340, *KSSC*, III.

[55] *BSOS*, V, p. 798ff. For further details see Chapter I.

with his wife, and thus effects the separation between the lovers. The name of the heroine in *Bhramarasandeśa* is *Bālanīlī* which is only the Sanskritization of *Uṇṇunīlī*, the name of the heroine in the Malayalam poem. Vāsudeva has been influenced by the *Śukasandeśa* also.

There is another *Bhṛṅgasandeśa*[56] of unknown authorship, in which the hero sends a love message from a place near Cranganore to his wife at Trichur through a bee. Being separated from his wife, the hero wanders here and there, and at last sits at the foot of a mango tree. There on the tree he finds a bee, and requests it to carry a message to his wife. The places described on the route are Cranganore, Ciṅṅapuram, the white palace of kings, the houses of merchants, a big tank to the left of the way, an *Agraśālā* protected by the king of Cochin, the village of Brahmins called Sitamaṅgaladeśa, the temple belonging to the king's minister, a dam, the Irinjālakkuḍa temple dedicated to God Bharata, the place called Māprāṇa, the house of a Brahmin famous for the distribution of food, the river Nandī, a Śāstā temple (probably Tiruvellakkāvu), Perumanam where lived at that time the Brahmin Ārubhaṭṭa, and Trichur. The house of the heroine is to the west of the famous Śiva temple. There reference to Ārubhaṭṭa at Perumanam seems to be to Ārūr Aṭitiri, author of the *Uttaranaiṣadha* who lived in the beginning of the nineteenth century; the reference to the Deity of Irinjālakkuḍa temple as Bharata shows that it is a late poem.

The *Nīlakaṇṭhasandeśa*[57] is a short poem of 126 verses describing the despatch of a love message from Īṅṅayūr to Cerppulaśśeri through a peacock. Unlike other similar works there is no division into two parts in this poem. The author is Śrīdharan Nambi of Punnaśśeri in Pattambi, who flourished during 1774-1830 A.D.; he was a student of Bharata Piṣāroṭi, and was a well known astrologer.[58] He says that the members of his family were the ministers of the Zamorins, and managed the affairs of Erālppāḍ, the heir-apparent of the Zamorin.[59]

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[56] *R* 3395b. Also printed in *Ṣahṛdaya* (Madras), Vol. 24.

[57] *TC*, 1453; *KSC*, III, p. 492.

[58] साक्षात् संप्राप्तविद्यो भरतगुरुमुखात् पोषितो मातृपादैः ।

(*Vikramādityacarita*)

Śrīdhara has written another poem called the *Vikramādityacarita*[60] which in five cantos describes the popular story of Vikramāditya. The date of completion of this work is given by the Kali chronogram *Śabdaprajñānadīpa* given in the work itself. His grandson Nārāyaṇan Nambi has written a commentary on the poem, called *Nārāyaṇīya*. This Nārāyaṇa's son is the well known scholar of modern times, Punnaśśeri Nīlakaṇṭha Śarma.[61]

The *Sampātisandeśa*[62] is a long Sandeśa Kāvya in two parts containing 134 and 131 verses respectively, wherein is described the love message of Sītā to Rāma sent from Laṅka through the Vulture-god Sampāti, brother of Jaṭāyus. The author is a Nambūtiri of Puliyannūr Tekkeppāṭ in Ilavalli near Guruvāyūr. There are references to places like Trichur, Trippunittura and Ilavalli. The date of the poem is not known.

There is another anonymous Sandeśa Kāvya called *Mārutasandeśa*.[63] The names of places given there are all imaginary, and hence it is difficult to say whether it is a poem from Kerala or elsewhere. The first part contains 62 verses and the second part 130.

Another anonymous poem is the *Haṁsasandeśa*[64] divided into two sections containing 83 and 88 verses respectively; it describes the route from Ceylon to Kuṭamālūr in Central Travancore.

There is an anonymous Prakrit poem called *Bhṛṅgasandeśa* with a commentary in Sanskrit, of which only a fragmentary manuscript is available.[65]

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[59] पुन्नश्शेरीति कश्चित् परचिति निहितात्मा शिवब्राह्मणो यः
शैलाब्धीशस्य मन्त्री, तदुपरि युवराजस्य यो मुख्यमन्त्री ।
मूकाम्बानुग्रहात्तत्पुरुषविरचिते विक्रमादित्यवृत्ते
काव्येऽस्मित् चारुभङ्ग्या निरगमदधुना पञ्चमो ह्यन्त्यसर्गः ॥

[60] *KSC*, p. 493f.

[61] *Vide infra.*

[62] For details see *KSSC*, III, pp. 253ff. One manuscript is said to be with Attur Krishna Pisharoti, Trichur, and another in Trivandrum University Collection.

[63] *TC* 1483. It is incomplete. See for details *KSSC*, III, p. 251ff.

[64] *KSC*, IV, p. 30.

[65] *TC* 1471A. Edited by A. N. Upadhye, *Karmarkar Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1948, pp. 217ff.

(ii) *Prabandhas* and *Campūs*

The *Prabandhas,* or short *Campū kāvyas,* form an important section of Sanskrit literature in Kerala. They are used by the Cākyārs—the professional actors of Sanskrit plays in Kerala—as basic texts for *Kūttu,* or the popular exposition of Pūrāṇic stories; they are also used for *Pāṭhakam,* or the narration of Purāṇic stories, which is not so elaborate as the *Kūttu* and which can be performed by persons other than Cākyārs also. We have already noted that Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote several such *Prabandhas* for the use of his friend Iravi Cākyār (Ravi nartaka) of Kuṭṭañceri. These have inspired later writers to compose other works on the same model.[66] Since originality is not always the aim of the poets, it is possible to find important verses from classical works incorporated here and there in these texts. Among such works may be mentioned the *Kāmadevadahana* based on the first three cantos of the *Kumārasambhava, Parvatīsvayaṁvara* based on Cantos V-VII of the same, *Bhāratacampū* different from the one attributed to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, *Vṛkāsuravadha, Nāradamohana, Lakṣaṇāsvayaṁvara, Uṣāpariṇaya, Sudarśanamokṣa Ambarīṣacarita, Tṛṇāvartavadha, Kūrmāvatāra, Sīmantinīcarita, Syamantaka, Santānagopāla* different from that by Aśvati Tirunāl Yuvarāja, *Kārttavīryavijaya*[67] in three Stabakas describing the fight between Kārtavīryārjuna and Rāvaṇa, and *Gajendramokṣa.* The Prabandhas of Aśvati Tirunāl Yuvarāja, Eṭaveṭṭikkāṭ Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri and Rāmapāṇivāda have already been noted. The longer Campū works like those of Mānaveda have also been described. A few other works which could not be related to any special centres of learning are noticed below.

The *Amogharāghavīya*[68] of Divākara, son of Viśveśvara, dealing with the story of the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed under the patronage of a king named Rāghava. The date of composition of the work is given in the text itself as Śaka 1221, which is equivalent to 1299 A.D. Divākara's patron Rāghava is identified by some scholars with a king of Cochin having that name, while some others identify him with the king of Kolattunāḍ, who was the patron of Rāghavānanda. The text does not state clearly whether Divākara belonged to Kerala or not.

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[66] On these see *KSC,* III, pp. 62-76.

[67] *R* 6647. Ullūr (*KSC,* III, p. 75) refers to two different works *Kārttavīryāpadāna* and *Kārttavīryavijaya* and quotes some verses; they actually occur in this work; hence both must be the same.

[68] *R* 4328; IHQ, XVII, pp. 251ff; *BRVI,* VIII, p. 56.

The *Kalyāṇasaugandhika*[69] is an anonymous Campū from Kerala which describes the story of Bhīma fetching the saugandhika flowers for Draupadī.

The *Uttaracampūrāmāyaṇa*[70] and the *Nayanidarśana*[71] are two Campū works written under the patronage of King Devanārāyaṇa of Ampalappuḻa by a Nambūtiri Brahmin of Kumāranallūr. The former deals with the story of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, while the latter describes Vidura's maxims, and is based on the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Nayanidarśana* the poet refers to his patron Devanārāyaṇa, and also to his other Campū work.[72] It also contains a reference to the building of the palace at Kuṭamālūr; hence its composition must have been sometime after 1642 when the construction of the palace started.

The *Bālarāmavijaya*[73] is a Campū in two sections written by a Cola writer Sītārāmā under the patronage of King Rāmavarman of Vaṭakkuṅkūr. The poet says that he is a student of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita; hence he must be assigned to the eighteenth century A.D.

The *Hanumadapadāna*[74] is a long Campū work dealing with the story of Hanumat in three sections. The author is not known, but from the fact that one of the introductory verses[75] there seems to be the Sanskrit version of the Malayalam verse[76] found at the beginning of the astrological works of Maḻamaṅgalam Śaṅkaran Nambūtiri, it may be assumed that the Campū is also a work of Śaṅkara.[77] A Sanskrit commentary is available for the work.

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[69] *SPT*, VIII-2, p. 143ff.

[70] *TP* 1607-9.

[71] *TP* 1639, 1640.

[72] Ullūr, *KSC*, III, pp. 50ff.

श्रीदेवनारायणराजवीरप्रसादसंप्राप्तसमस्तकामः ।
श्रीमत्कुमारीपुरसन्निधाने स कोऽपि जातो धरणीसुरेन्द्रः ॥
सोऽयं करोति कविरुत्तरचम्पुकर्ता
काव्यं पुनर्नयनिदर्शननामधेयम् ।

[73] *KSC*, III, p. 44.

"श्रीरामभद्राख्यमखी गुरुर्नः ।"
"श्रीवैद्यनाथमखिवर्यसुतेन सीता-
रामेण सर्वबुधमानसहंसभूतम् ।
श्रीबालरामविजयाह्वयचम्पुकाव्यं
सन्तन्यते कविवरान् विबुधान् प्रणम्य ॥"

[74] *TC* 1664, 1665.

The *Keralābharaṇa*[78] by the Tamil writer Rāmacandramakhin, written on the model of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa campū* of Veṅkaṭādhvarin, may be mentioned here, since it refers to the customs and manners of Kerala. It may be assigned to the eighteenth century A.D.

Three short Campūs, *Bāṇayuddha, Lakṣaṇāsvayaṁvara,* and *Viprapatnyanugrahalīlā,* were written by Īśvara Vāriyar of Nellekkāt who was born in 1762 A.D.[79]

The *Rāmavarmavijaya*[80] is an incomplete Campū on the exploits of Svāti Tirunāḷ Mahārāja of Travancore; its author was a Brahmin belonging to Mahādānapuram in Kanyākumari District. His name is not known.

Among the prose works from Kerala the most important is the *Rāmakathā*[81] written by Vāsudeva, son of Umā and Nārāyaṇa, under the patronage of a king of Kerala named Ādityavarman; it describes the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in an excellent style reminiscent of the *Kādambarī*. Some of the *Praśastis* by Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa like the *Gośrīnagaravarṇana* have already been noticed. A fragmentary portion of a Sanskrit prose work by one

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[75] क्षमन्त एव सन्तोऽत्र सर्वविद्याब्धिपारगाः ।
अन्ये हसन्तु किं छिन्नं भक्ताः संभावका मम ॥

[76] Kṣamippar atre sādhukkal iha vidyābdhipāragar
Maṯṯ ullavar ciriccālum entu cetam namukkatil?
(*Kāladīpaka* etc.)

[77] About Śaṅkara see the chapter on Cochin Royal family.

[78] *TC* 1621; Tanjore 4031-A. About the customs of Kerala he says
"एकमेव यज्ञोपवीतं ब्राह्मणानां, मार्ग एव मूत्रोत्सर्गः, जल एव गण्डूषः, पुरुषाणां स्त्रीभिः सहाशौचक्रिया, समावर्तने जाते परदारप्रवृत्तिरिति केरलीयानां धर्माः श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धाः वर्तन्ते । तथापि दृष्टसुखतया केरलीयाः समीचीनाः ।"

[79] *MW*, dated 31-7-1955.

[80] *KSC*, IV, p. 30.

[81] Sri Balamanorama Series, Mylapore, No. 11.

Ramaśśār,[82] and an anonymous panegyric, *Kakkāṭṭurājavarṇana,*[83] about a king of the Talappilli royal family in Kunnankulam are also known.

Some of the historical inscriptions of Kerala kings contain much interesting material in Sanskrit and are important from a literary point of view also. The panegyric[84] on Saṅgrāmadhīra Ravivarman of Quilon by the court-poet Kavibhūṣaṇa, contained in the Śriraṅgam inscription has already been noticed. The Pāliyam inscription of Varaguṇa[85] begins with an invocation to the Buddha and contain some interesting verses;[86] this inscription belongs to the tenth century A.D.

(iii) *Stotras*

Kerala's contribution to the Stotra literature is very substantial. The works of Kulaśekhara, Vilvamaṅgala, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Rāmapāṇivāda have already been noted. The great Advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya, commentator of the *Brahmasūtras,* the *Bhagavadgītā* and the principal Upaniṣads, and the author of philosophical poems like the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi,* the *Upadeśasāhasrī,* the *Ātmabodha* and the *Mohamudgara,* has written several Stotra works like *Śivānandalaharī;* and the *Saundaryalaharī;* it is accepted that he was born in Kālaḍi on the banks of the Alwaye river in Central Kerala. He is usually assigned to the close of the eighth century A.D., but that date seems to be too late for him. There are innumerable Stotras and philosophical poems attributed to Śaṅkara, but it is not certain that they are all by Śaṅkara himself. Besides these there are many anonymous Stotras which refer to the various temples of Kerala like Guruvāyūr, Trichur and Trivandrum, and certainly belong to Kerala.[87]

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[82] *TP* 1559; it is dated 1666 A.D. See also *MW,* dated 13-11-1955.

[83] *TC* 510c.

[84] Ullūr calls it *Candrakalāmālā* (*KSC,* I, p. 299).

[85] *TAS,* 1.

[86] e.g. "पुण्यारम्भे त्वरयत मनो मानवा वः कृतान्तः
कालाकङ्क्षी निकटमटति व्यात्तास्यप्रचण्डः ।
तस्यैवासौ प्रियमिव पिता कर्तुमाशु प्रयाणे-
रह्नामीशो नयति भवतामायुषः शेषमाशु ॥"

[87] Some of these are published in *JT:—Aruṇastambādrināthastotra Muktipurasthadevīstotra, Sivastuti, Devanārāyaṇīya* by a nephew of the king of Ampalappuḻa (Vol. 8), *Śrīkṛṣṇadaṇḍaka* (Vol. 9) etc.

The *Gurupavanapureśastotra*[88] was written by Devarāja, a Tamil Brahmin of Palghat who is also the author of a *Rāmāyaṇaśataka*, the *Sukhabodhinī* commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya*, and the *Sārasaṅgraha* commentary on the *Śiśupālavadha*; he must be later than the seventeenth century, since he refers to Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita. Īśānubhūtiyati,[89] also known as Devadeveśānubhūti, was a *sannyāsin* of one of the Mutts in Trichur; he has written eight stotra works: *Nārāyaṇāmṛta, Rāmaśataka, Kṛṣṇaśataka, Vāsudevaśataka, Padmanābhastuti, Bhāratasaṁkṣepa* and two *Kṛṣṇastutis*. The *Rāmapañcaśati* by Rāma Vāriyar of Irinjalakkuda and the *Bhaktimañjari* by Svāti Tirunāl Mahārāja have already been mentioned. The *Haribhaktirasāyanasaṅgraha*[90] by Śaṅkara written under the patronage of King Mārttaṇḍavarma of Travancore is a work on Bhakti.

(iv) *Māhātmyas, Purāṇas etc.*

There are several poems written by Kerala authors in the Purāṇic style. Many of them are *Māhātmyas* glorifying the various temples and holy places of Kerala, and are anonymous, and some of them are supposed to be taken from one or the other of the Purāṇas. The *Keralamāhātmya*[91] containing more than two thousand verses in six cantos deals with the legends about ancient Kerala; it is said to be part of the *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The *Keralakṣetramāhātmya*,[92] wrongly attributed to Vilvamaṅgala, is another such work describing the various temples of Kerala and is later than the seventeenth century. There are many other Māhātmyas like *Anantaśayanakṣetramāhātmya, Vyāghrapurīmāhātmya, Vilvādrimāhātmya, Śoṇādrimāhātmya,* and *Guruvāyupuramāhātmya.*

The *Kṛṣṇapurāṇa*[93] is an extremely interesting poem written on the model of the Purāṇas by Kṛṣṇa, a Nambūtiri Brahmin of the Panniyūr grāma and the Bhārgava gotra, whose house was situated on the banks of the Bhāratappuḷa. The poem deals with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as narrated by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna. The *Rāmāyaṇasaṅgraha*[94] of Ravivarman, son of Umayamma Rāṇi, who ruled over Veṇāḍ from 1684 to 1718 A.D. is a summary of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in 51 cantos written in the Purāṇic style. The *Sadācāravṛttivarttana*[95] of Āryan Mūs of Plāntol, describing how one should lead a life of physical and moral health, may also be mentioned here. Another work is the *Śaṅkarasmṛti* or the *Laghudharmaprakāśikā*, wrongly attributed to the great Śaṅkara, dealing with the customs and manners of Kerala Brahmins; only twelve chapters of the work are available; it refers to a *Bhārgavasmṛti* about which we have no reference anywhere else in Smṛti literature. The *Śaṅkarācāryacarita*[96] by Govindanātha, author of the Yamaka poem *Gaurīkalyāṇa*, gives the legendary story about the life of Śaṅkara.

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[88] *KSC*, III, pp. 32ff; *TC* 1097.

[89] *Ibid*, p. 38ff; *TP* 1857.

[90] *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Punjab University Library*, Vol. II (1941), Serial No. 2477.

[91] Published from Trichur, 1912.

[92] Published from Trichur, 1929.

[93] *KSSC*, II.

(v) *Short Poems*

Among the short poems of Kerala that have not been mentioned while dealing with the prominent writers and the important centres of learning, some may be given here: the *Śrīsvayaṁvara*[97] is a Yamaka poem in four *Āśvāsas* dealing with the story of the churning of the Milky Ocean, the birth of Lakṣmī and her marriage; the *Mahimarāmāyaṇa*[98] is by Potiyil Mādhava Cākyār; the *Bālivijaya* or the *Rāvaṇabandha*[99] was written by a Brahmin belonging to the Kauśika gotra under the patronage of a king of Cochin; the *Gopikonmāda* or *Rāsakrīḍā*,[100] is a short poem in 122 verses of *Mandākrantā* metre; the *Mudrārākṣasakathāsara*, or *Cāṇakyakathā*,[101] of Ravinarttaka (Iravi Cākyār of Kuṭṭanceri) has already been noted; the *Ratnāvalīkathāsāra*[102] by Brahmadatta, the Yamaka poem *Rāghavavijaya*[103] and the anonymous poem *Rukmāṅgadacarita*[104] are other works of this class. Tradition claims for Kerala the *Śrīrāmodanta* which is popular throughout South India.

There are several erotic poems like the *Āśleṣāśataka* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, *Svātīpraśaṁsā* of Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, the *Śrīdevīpraśasti* and the verses on Princess Manoramā. Epistles to the various

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94. *KSC*, III, p. 33ff; *TC* 1926.
95. *KSC*, II, p. 81.
96. *TP* 1953.
97. *KSSC*, II, p. 482f; *KSC*, II, p. 414.
98. *TP*. 1172 a 21.
99. Trippunittura List, No. 285.
100. *KSC*, II, p. 414; *JT*, IX.
101. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 6.
102. *KSC*, III, 80.
103. Ilaṅkunnattu Kurīri Bhaṭṭatiri, List, No. 17.
104. *KSC*, III, p. 79.

kings of the land, like the *Praśastis* by Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa may also be mentioned. Many stray verses in praise of various gods and goddesses, beautiful women, and well known patrons of learning, are also known, handed down by oral tradition; many verses of worldly wisdom also belong to this *Muktaka* class.[105]

(vi) *Literary Criticism*

Among works on literary criticism from Kerala may be mentioned the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyās*[106] on the *Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa* and the *Subhadrādhanañjaya*[107] discussing in detail how the plays should be staged; the *Naṭāṅkuśa* severely criticizing the liberties taken by the Cākyārs in the performance of the Sanskrit plays; the *Līlātilaka*[108] which is a work on Malayalam grammar and rhetoric dealing with the Maṇipravāla style of mixed Sanskrit and Malayalam; *Kāvyollāsa*[109] an independent paraphrase of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* in simple verses by a certain Nīlakaṇṭhan Nambūtiri, author of *Manuṣyālayacandrikā* and *Mātaṅgalīlā;* the *Godavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa*[110] by Aruṇagirinātha, son of Śeṣādri and student of Veṅkaṭādri, written under the patronage of King Godavarman of Vaṭakkuṅkūr; the *Kāvyakalānidhi*[111] by Kṛṣṇasudhi of Uttaramerūr in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam written in 1845 under the patronage of Ravivarman, Raja of Kolattunāḍ, which is a work on Alaṅkāra in ten sections where the illustrations are all in praise of the poet's patron; the commentary on the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*[112] of Ruyyaka by Samudrabandha; the three commentaries on the *Locana* of Abhiṇavagupta: the *Kaumudī*[113] by Udaya Rāja, *Añjana*[114] by Dāśarathi, and the *Bālapriyā*[115] by K. Rama Pisharoti; the *Bālarāmabharata* of Kārttika Tirunāl; and the short *Muhanāntyaprāsa* of Svāti Tirunāl Mahārāja.[116]

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[105] Some of these verses are published in my paper on "Story Verses from Kerala", *AORM*, 1952.

[106] Ch. I.

[107] Ch. IV; *R* 3003.

[108] First edited by Āttūr Krishna Pisharoti.

[109] *Vijñānadīpikā*, III, p. 236; *KSC*, II, p. 281.

[110] *JT*.

[111] *Vide Supra*, p. 62. Also *KSC*, IV, p. 113.

[112] *TSS*, 40.

[113] Edited by Kuppusvami Sastri, Madras.

[114] *KSC*, II, p. 343. *DC* 12895.

[115] Published from Benaras.

[116] *JT*.

(vii) *Commentaries*

There have been several important commentaries on literary and Śāstraic works in Kerala. Śaṅkara's work on Advaita philosophy, the commentaries on Mīmāṁsā works by the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas, the works of Kelallūr Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji and Ālattūr Parameśvara on astronomy,[117] the various commentaries on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya,* and Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's work on grammar are well known. Among literary commentators of Kerala Rāghavānanda, Pūrṇasarasvati, Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, Śivarāma, Nārāyaṇa of Maṭham family, and Mānaveda have already been noticed. Abhirāma, the popular commentator on the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* is also supposed to have belonged to Kerala. Aruṇagirinātha, the famous commentator, is different from the Diṇḍima poets of that name, and is supposed to have belonged to Chengannur in Kerala.[118] The anonymous *Śākuntalacarcā*[119] which is an exhaustive commentary on the *Śākuntala* and which contains many references to the Bhāsa plays also comes from Kerala. The *Āmoda* commentary on the *Kādambarī* by Aṣṭamūrti is in verse form. Among other commentaries from Kerala may be mentioned the *Padārthadīpikā*[120] on Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* by Anantadāsa, student of Kṛṣṇaśaṅkara and a protege of a king of Koṭṭayam in North Kerala (Puraḻīśvara), and another on the same work by Siṁharāja, son of Samudrabandha; the *Mārgadarśinī* on the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara by Vāsudevan Nambūtiri of Mūkkola, known as Sāhityamalla, the *Setudīpa*[121] on the *Setubandha* of Pravarasena by Subrahmaṇya alias Devarāta; the *Uttejanī* on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa by Vedāntacārya, the *Kavicintāmaṇi* on the *Vṛttaratnākāra* by Karuṇākara, the *Nāṭakābharaṇa*[122] on the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra by Govindāmṛtayati who is also the author of the *Dharmamīmāṁsābhāṣyavivaraṇa* on the *Śabarabhāṣya,* Devarāja's commentaries on the *Śiśupālavadha* and the *Kirātārjunīya* and the works of K. Rama Pisharoti in modern times.

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[117] *ALB,* XIX, pp. 327ff; XX, pp. 122 ff.

[118] Introduction to *Godavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa, JT,* I-4.

[119] *TSS.*

[120] *R* 2749.

[121] *KSC,* III, p. 81.

[122] *Ibid,* p. 40; *TC* 1295ff.

(viii) *Kathakali Works*

Kathakali, the famous dance drama of Kerala, produced a very rich literature of its own in the 18th and 19th centuries. The texts of the Kathakali are on the model of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* and contain long verses mostly in Sanskrit introducing the scenes, and Malayalam songs giving the dialogues. More than one hundred Kathakali works are available. The writers of these were mostly Sanskrit scholars and were interested in displaying their erudition. They vary their style to suit the themes, and are successful in making the sound echo the sense.[123]

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[123] e.g. स्वैरं कैरवबन्धुबन्धुरकरश्रेणीकृपाणीलता-
लूनप्रौढतमस्तमालगहने हालां पिबन् मोहने ।
माद्यत्कोकिलकामिनीकलवयोवाचालिताशान्तरे
रेमे रैवतकाचले सह वधूजालेन नीलाम्बरः ॥
(*Paunḍrakavadham* by Aśvati Tirunāl Rāmavarma of Travancore)
मार्गे तत्र नखंपंचोग्मलरजःपुञ्जे ललाटंतप-
ग्रीष्मोष्मद्युतिताम्यदाननसरोजातां विलोक्यादरात् ।
वातोद्धूलिनधूलिजालमसृणच्छायां स धर्मात्मजो
मध्याह्ने परिदूयमानहृदयां तामब्रवीद् द्रौपदीम् ॥
(*Kirmīravadham* by Koṭṭayattu Tampurān)

Chapter XIII

MODERN POETS

Sanskrit never ceased to be a living language in Kerala even after the development of Malayalam literature. There have been in recent times, and there are even now, scholars and poets capable of wielding the Sanskrit language with ease and facility. Though the main literary output of Kerala is in the Malayalam language, there have been many literary works written in Sanskrit by various scholars during the past 150 years; a few of the poets like Svāti Tirunāl Mahārāja of Travancore have already been mentioned while dealing with the different centres of learning. Others, numbering about one hundred, are dealt with in this chapter. The most outstanding among the modern Sanskrit poets are Godavarman Yuvarāja of Koṭuṅṅallūr, Ilattūr Rāmasvāmi Śāstri, Keralavarma Valiya Koil Tampurān, A. R. Rājarājavarma, and Mānavikrama Eṭṭan Tampurān.

(i) *Koṭuṅṅallūr Poets*

The Kotuṅṅallūr palace was one of the most important seats of learning in the nineteenth century A.D.; it produced several scholars who specialised in different Śāstras, and attracted many a keen student from all over Kerala and even from outside. The literary contribution from the members of the family is considerable.

Godavarman Yuvarāja,[1] or Vidvān Ilaya Tampurān as he is popularly known, of Koṭuṅṅallūr (Cranganore) palace was one of the most distinguished scholar poets of Kerala in the nineteenth century. He was born in 1800 A.D. as the son of Kuññikkuṭṭi Tampurāṭṭi and Mātṛdatta, a Nambūtiri Brahmin of Ilakkuriśśi family in Vellāṅgallūr. He had his primary education under Valappil Āśān; later he studied under Ārūr Mādhavan Aṭitiri and Pantalam Subrahmaṇya Śāstri. Godavarman was a great scholar in various subjects like grammar, astronomy, elephantology and law, and wrote several works in Sanskrit, both literary and scientific.

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[1] On Godavarman see "Vidvān Ilaya Tampurān", *Rasikarañjini*, IV; K. Narayana Pisharoti, *Maṅgalodayam*, XVIII-12; *Vidvadyuvarājacaritam* of Kotuṅṅallūr Koccuṇṇi Tampurān, *SPT*, XI-XII; *KSC*, IV, pp. 31ff; *KBSC*, IV, pp. 738ff;

The *Bālyudbhava*, also called *Mahendravijaya*, a Mahākāvya in sixteen cantos, is his earliest work. His *Tripuradahana* is a short poem, and the *Daśāvatāradaṇḍaka* is a fine Stotra work. *Śrīpādasaptaka*, *Muraripustotra* and *Sudhānandalaharī*, attributed to him are also Stotra works. The most popular among the works of the Yuvarāja are the *Rāmacarita* and the *Rasasadana*;[2] the former is a Mahākāvya dealing with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the latter is a drama of the Bhāṇa type. The *Rāmacarita* is his masterpiece; the style is chaste and dignified, and the poet's literary genius is not dimmed by his erudition. It breaks off with the 31st verse of the 13th canto, as the poet passed away before he could complete the work. It was later completed by Rāmavarman Koccuṇṇi Tampurān of the same family, making it a poem of forty cantos including eight cantos of *Uttararāmacarita*.

The *Rasasadana*[3] is one of the best Bhāṇas of Kerala. The hero of the play is the chief Viṭa who has promised his friend Mandāraka to look after his wife Candanamālā and to escort her to the temple of Kālī on the day of the Yatrā festival. In the morning he goes to her house and takes her to the temple, talking and describing at large. Having escorted her back to her house, he returns home by noon. After some time he again wanders into the street and, after accepting the invitation of some ladies from Trichur to go to their place during the Pūram festival in April, he goes to Candanamālā's house and finds her in the company of his friend Mandāraka. This is the story of the play. Many of the descriptions of the scenes and situations are quite true to the nineteenth century Kerala. Special mention may be made to the description of the Oṭṭantullal, Cākyār kūttu and the representation of the Dārikavadham play. The mode of dress among the Malayālis, the Yātrā festival of Kālī in the temple, the visit of the king, the elephant getting out of control causing panic among the people, the method of worship in the Kerala temples, etc. described here are quite realistic. In the description of the moral condition of the society there is some exaggeration, but it is quite in keeping with the nature of a Bhāṇa.

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[2] *Kāvyamālā*, 37 (1893). The *Rāmacarita* was printed from Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay. Minor works like *Tripuradahana*, *Sudhānandalaharī*, *Hetvābhāsodāharaṇaślokas*, *Muraripustōtra*, and *Sphuṭaślokaprakaraṇa* were published from Poona, 1888, in *Kāvyetihāsasaṅgraha*, IV-V.

[3] On *Rasasadana* see Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 264; S. Konow, *Das indische Drama*, p. 121; Winternitz, *Geschichte*, III, p. 263n; *SPT*, VII-2, p. 191f. The *Kālīkelīyātrā* described in *DC* 12512 is the same work.

Schuyler identified[4] the author of the *Rasasadana* with Yuvarāja Prahlādana, author of *Pārthaparākrama*; L. D. Barnett, on the other hand, says[5] that "*Rasasadana* is notoriously the work of Sadāśiva who is also known as Yuvarāja, and Sadāśiva has nothing in common with Prahlādana except the epithet Yuvarāja". It is not clear how he got the name of Yuvarāja as Sadāśiva.[6] It is certain that Yuvarāja's personal name was Godavarman, as it is definitely given in the *Vidvadyuvarājacarita* which is a short biographical poem on the Yuvarāja by Koccuṇṇi Tampurān who completed his *Rāmacarita*.

Among the scientific works of the Yuvarāja are the following: *Hetvābhāsodāharaṇa*[7] illustrating the fallacies in reasoning, *Āśaucadaśaka*, *Āśaucaṣoḍaśaka* and the commentary on the *Āśaucadīpikā* of Mahiṣamaṅgalam, commentaries on *Bhāskarīya* and *Golādhyāya*, and *Garuḍacayanapramāṇa*. The *Sādāśivī* or *Sphuṭaślokaprakaraṇa* is also attributed to him. Besides these he has also composed several stray verses on various occasions.

Among his students are Kṛṣṇa Śāstrin of Kumbakonam, Parameśvaran Mūttat of Vaikkam and others. Godavarman passed away in 1851 A.D.

Rāmavarman, Koccuṇṇi Tampurān,[8] of the Cranganore palace flourished from 1858 to 1926 A.D. He was the son of Ikkāvu Tampurāṭṭi. He studied Sanskrit under Kuññuṇṇi Tampurān of Cranganore, Ikku Tampurāṭṭi of Trippunittura, and Kṛṣṇa Śāstrin of Kumbakonam. Koccuṇṇi Tampurān completed *Rāmā*-

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[4] *Bibliography of Sanskrit Drama*, p. 97.

[5] Review of the above book, *JRAS*, 1907, p. 729.

[6] See under Sadāśiva in *Brit. Mus. Cat.* (1892-1906), where also he identifies the Yuvarāja with Sadāśiva. About the real name of the Yuvarāja, see the following verse in the *Vidvadyuvarājacarita* (Published with Malayalam Translation, *SPT*, XI-XII):

स्वर्गस्य दाता शिशुरेष शास्त्रसारोपदेशेन समाश्रितानाम् ।
इतीव नाम्नाथ चकार गोदं श्रीकोटिलिङ्गेश्वरबालमम्बा ॥

[7] Published by V. Varadachari, *Āchārya Dhruva Smāraka Grantha*, III, pp. 206ff. Manuscripts of many of the works are available at Cranganore Palace.

[8] See Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Vijñānadīpika*, III, pp. 215-28.

carita, left unfinished by Godavarman on whom he wrote a short biographical poem *Vidvadyuvarājacarita.* He has written two Bhāṇas. Of these the *Anaṅgajīvana* deals with the love between Śṛṅgārasāra and Māṇikyamālā and is supposed to be staged on the occasion of the festival of God Viṣṇu of the temple at Kulaśekharapuram in Cranganore. The other play is called *Viṭarājavijaya.*[9] Koccuṇṇi Tampurān is also the author of *Śrīrāmavarmakāvya* on the king of Cochin, the *Viprasandeśa* written in imitation of the *Meghadūta,* the *Bāṇayuddha* which is a Campū composed in 1891 A.D., a Stotra work called *Devadeveśvarāśataka,* and a commentary on the *Devīsaptaśati.*

Kuññikkuṭṭan Tampurān[10] of Cranganore palace, well known as Keralavyāsa because of his translation of the *Mahābhārata* into Malayalam, was born in 1865 A.D. as the son of Kuññippilla Tampurāṭṭi and Acchan Nambūtiri of Veṇmaṇi. He has written several works in Malayalam. Among his Sanskrit works are the one-act plays *Kirātārjunīya-vyāyoga, Subhadrāharaṇa, Daśakumāracarita* and *Jarāsandhavadha,* the biographical poem *Śaṅkaragurucarita,* and the minor works *Babhruvāhanavijaya, Āryāśataka, Svayaṁvaramantrākṣaramālā, Kirātarudrastava, Kṛtajñas turuṣkaḥ,* and *vilambimañjūṣā.*[11] He passed away in 1913.

(ii) *Poets under Travancore Kings*

Ilattūr Rāmasvāmi Śāstri[12] was one of the most remarkable scholar poets of the nineteenth century, and flourished under the patronage of the kings of Travancore. He was born in November 1823 in the western Agrahāram of Ilattūr in Shencotta. His father was Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Śāstri, also known as Āṇḍi Śāstrikal. They belonged to the Hārīta gotra. After his early studies under Kṛṣṇapuram Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Śāstri, Rāmasvāmi went to the court of the Pantalam Rāja for higher studies, and in a few years mastered grammar and logic. Then he went to Mūkāmbi, and stayed for some time worshipping the Deity there. Later he made pilgrimages to Gokarṇam, Banaras and Kumbakonam, and came back to Trivandrum in 1849 A.D. There he lived in the court of Utram Tirunāl Mahārāja till 1860, when Āyilyam Tirunāl Rāmavarman came to the throne. He was patronized by this king also; but once he happened to incur the displeasure of the king and left the country. Later the Mahārāja sent for him and made him the chief poet in his court. This king died in 1880, and was succeeded by Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārāja. In 1885 Mūlam Tirunāl Mahārāja who was Rāmasvāmi Śāstri's own student came to the throne. But the poet passed away in 1887 A.D.

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[9] *Viṭarājavijaya* is published from Mangalodayam, Trichur, with short notes by P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri. The biography of Yuvarāja is published in *SPT,* XI-XII.

[10] K. Paramesvara Kurup, *Kuññikkuṭṭan Tampurān,* Men of Letters Series; Trivandrum, 1932. See also *SPT,* V; *KSC,* IV, pp. 355-87.

[11] Many of these are included in "The works of Kuññikkuṭṭan Tampurān" published by P. V. Krishna Variyar.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Godavarama, Bhaṭṭan Tampurān, was an erudite scholar in Nyāya and Vedānta, and wrote some important Śāstraic works.

[12] On Rāmasvāmi Śāstri see Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer, *Vijñānadīpika,* III, pp. 256-90; *KSC,* IV, pp. 182-196.

Rāmasvāmi Śāstri was a voluminous writer, and has to his credit several works. His *Surūparāghava* is a Mahākāvya on the model of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya,* illustrating the grammatical rules and figures of speech and at the same time narrating the story of *Rāmāyaṇa*. The work is said to consist of more than fifteen cantos but the extant manuscript of it ends in the middle of the eighth canto. The *Kīrtivilāsa campū,*[13] of which only one Ullāsa is extant, is intended to eulogize Āyilyam Tirunāl Mahārāja; it contains a good description of the meeting of scholars and poets in the royal court, and their discussions. The *Gāndhāracarita* is a short poem written for 'Harikathākālakṣepa', and contains verses in *Āryā* and *Pañcacāmara* metres. The story is this: a Brahmin named Gāndhāra, who has come to Gokarṇa to worship God Śiva on a *Śivarātri* meets a fisherman's daughter and falls in love with her. She agrees to be his wife on condition that he himself will bring her meat daily. He married her and lived with her for a long time. Once he happened to kill a deer belonging to a sage, and was cursed to die by fever. Before dying, he asked his wife to bring him some water, addressing her *Śaśivadanā* (moon-faced). Thus he uttered the sound "Śiva", though unconsciously as part of another word, and for this, as well as for worshipping Śiva on a *Śivarātri*, Gāndhāra was taken to heaven after his death, in spite of the many sins he had committed. The story ends with the statement that any one uttering the name of Śiva, with or without reverence, will go to heaven. It is evidently an imitation of the

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[13] *T P* 1656. In the catalogue it is called *Viśākhakīrtivilāsa,* but the colophon calls it only *Kīrtivilāsa.*

Bhāgavata story of Ajāmila. The *Pārvatīpariṇaya* is also a short poem like the previous one, and is full of rhymes. The story after the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī till the birth of Kumāra is written as a continuation of this, in different metres, and these verses are given as illustration in one chapter of his *Vṛttaratnāvali.* His *Ambarīṣacarita* is a short poem of 22 verses; the *Tulābhāraprabandha* describes in hundred verses the Tulābhāra festival of Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārāja. The *Anyāpadeśadvāsaptati,* in 72 verses, was written at the instance of Āyilyam Tirunāl Mahārāja. The *Gauṇasamāgama* is a short poem describing the visit of Lord Napier, the then Governor of Madras, to Trivandrum in 1863 A.D. The *Kāśiyātrānuvarṇanam* is also a semi-historical poem which in 120 verses of Āryā metre describes the pilgrimage of Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārāja to Benares. On the model of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya,* Rāmasvāmi Śāstri wrote a drama, *Kaivalyavallīpariṇaya;* no manuscript of this work is available.

Among the Stotra works of Rāmasvāmi Śāstri the following are known: *Devyaṣṭaprāsaśataka, Śivāṣṭaprāsaśataka, Devīvarṇamuktāvali, Āryāśatakadvaya, Śrīkrṣṇadaṇḍaka, Tripurasundarī pādādikeśa, Śrīrāmāśrayastotra, Madhusūdanāṣṭaka, Kalināśanastotra, Puṇḍarīkapureśastotra, Śrīkaṇṭheśvarastotra, Dharmasaṁvardhinīstotra,* and *Aśvatthagaṇanāthāṣṭaka.* The three important scientific works of Rāmasvāmi Śāstri that are known at present are the *Vṛttaratnāvali,* the *Rāmodaya* and the *Kṣetratattvadīpikā.* Of these the first is a work on metrics, and at the same time a poem describing the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* In each verse the first few letters give the definition of the metre of which the verse is an example, and the name of the metre is given at some place in it. *Śrīrāmastutiratna* in 162 verses of rare metres is also appended to this work. The *Rāmodaya* is a work on poetics like the *Candrāloka;* the illustrations are all written in praise of Āyilyam Tirunāl Mahārāja. The *Kṣetratattvapradīpikā* is a work on geometry. At the instance of Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārāja he wrote the *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* commentary on the *Kṛṣṇavilāsa* of Sukumāra. It is said that Rāmasvāmi Śāstri is also the author of four other works: *Tirumāsaprabandha, Dharmasaṁvardhinīmāhātmya* (*Ilattūr Sthalapurāṇa*), *Pantalapurīmāhātmya* and *Śākuntalacampū.* But nothing is further known about these. He has also written in Malayalam but his fame rests mainly on his Sanskrit works. A great part of the life of Rāmasvāmi Śāstri was spent in teaching Sanskrit. Among his students Keralavarman, Valiya Koyil Tampurān, is the most well known. Keralavarman refers to him with great respect in his *Viśākhavijaya*. Ilattūr Sundararāja and Mūlam Tirunāl Mahārāja were also his students.

Sundararāja Aiyangar[14] was also a native of Ilattūr Agrahāram near Shencotta. He was born in 1841 A.D. as the son of Varadarāja Aiyangar and Kṛṣṇāmbal, and had seven brothers and a sister. He belonged to the Ātreya gotra and the Vaikhānasa branch of the Rāmānuja school. He was generally known by his pet name, Cellam Aiyangar. At the age of twentyfive he married Veṅkaṭalakṣmī, but she died childless. Sundararāja had his early education under Ilattūr Rāmasvāmi Śāstri who taught him grammar and poetics, besides dramas and poems. Later he studied under Svāmi Dīkṣita of Eṭṭiyāpuram, author of the *Vallīpariṇaya Campū*. Sundararāja was patronized by the Raja of Eṭṭiyāpuram and the two kings of Travancore, Viśākham Tirunāl and Mūlam Tirunāl. He passed away in 1905 A.D.

Among the literary works of Sundararāja are the poems *Rāmabhadrastuti*, *Kṛṣṇāryāśataka*, and *Nītirāmāyaṇa*, and the drama *Vaidarbhīvāsudeva* in five acts, and the one-act plays *Snuṣāvijaya*, *Hanumadvijayanāṭaka*, *Padminīpariṇayanāṭaka* and the *Rasikarañjana*.[15] He wrote commentaries called *Sumanorañjinī* on Keralavarman's *Kaṁsavadhacampū* and Keśavakavi's *Godāpariṇayacampū*. He also wrote a commentary called *Ratnadīpikā* on the *Vallīpariṇaya Campū*. The *Rāmabhadravijaya* and *Śrīnivāsadīkṣitendracarita* are the two Campū works of Sundararāja; the latter gives an account of the life of Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita on whose works he has commented. The *Candrikā* commentary on Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita's *Vaikhānasamahimādarśa*, the *Nigamacūḍādarpaṇa*, a supercommentary on Dīkṣita's *Lakṣmīviśiṣṭādvaitabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* expounding the views of the Vaikhānasa Viśiṣṭādvaita school, and *Candrikā*, a supercommentary on Dīkṣita's *Paramātmikopaniṣadbhāṣya* are the works of Sundararāja. He has also written two other works: the *Mokṣopāyapradīpikā* and the *Uttamabrahmavidyāsāra*. M. Krishnamachariar has included[16] the *Kaṁsavadhacampū* and the *Godāparinayacampū* among the works of Sundararāja; that is not correct. Sundararāja has only commented on these two works.

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[14] *HCSL*, p. 666; E. V. Raman Nambutiri, "Mahākavi Sundararāja Aiyangar", *SPT*, V, pp. 331-6; Dr. V. Raghavan, Introduction to *Snuṣāvijaya*, Annals of Oriental Research, Madras University, VII-1; *KSC*, IV, pp. 197-200.

[15] On Sundararāja's works see Dr. V. Raghavan, *loc.cit.*

[16] *HCSL*, p. 666.

Sundararāja is a good scholar with full command of the language. The following verse from the *Kṛṣṇāryāśataka* may be given as an illustration of his lucid style:

> पिदधात्यम्बरमखिलं पयोधरोऽद्येति राधया गदितः ।
> अम्बरमेवावृणुते पयोधरं ह्रीति पातु तत् कर्षन् ॥

The *Snuṣāvijaya*[17] is a social play dealing with the common theme of the newly married girl's sufferings under the harsh rule of her mother-in-law.

Keralavarman, Valiya Koyil Tampurān,[18] or Kerala-Kālidāsa as he is popularly known because of his translating the *Śākuntala* into Malayalam, belonged to the Parappanāḍ royal family, and was born in Lakṣmīpuram palace at Caṅṅanāśśeri in 1845 A.D. as the son of Devī Ambā and Mullappilli Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri. His uncle Rājarājavarman took a special interest in his education. It was through him that Keralavarman was introduced to the royal family at Trivandrum. In 1859 the young boy of fourteen married the princess Lakṣmībāi, and thus became Valiya Koyil Tampurān. Even after his marriage Keralavarman continued his studies. He learned Vedānta from Ilattūr Rāmasvāmi Śāstri, Nyāya from a scholar of the Cola country named Rāmasvāmi Śāstri, and grammar from Subba Dīkṣita and Śīnu Aiyangar. He practised music and was interested in hunting also. He was an intimate friend of Viśakham Tirunāl Rāmavarman, and was patronized by Āyilyam Tirunāl Mahārāja whom he accompanied to Benaras in 1873. Later, due to some misunderstandings, he happened to incur the displeasure of the king as a result of which he was interned at Alleppey in 1875. He had to remain there till 1880, when Āyilyam Tirunāl Mahārāja passed away, and Keralavarman's friend Viśākham Tirunāl came to the throne. He regained his lost glory, and exerted great influence on the educational policy of the Travancore State for a long time. Later he became a prey to rheumatism, and in his old age he almost retired from public and literary activities. He lost his mother in 1898, and his wife in 1901. His

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[17] Edited by Dr. Raghavan, *loc.cit.*

[18] M. R. Balakrishna Wariyar, "*Keralavarmadevan*", Sridhara Press, Trivandrum, 1937, *KBBC*, V, pp. 186ff; *KSC*, IV, pp. 388-432.

ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti was celebrated throughout the State in 1905. At the age of 69 he passed away as a result of injuries sustained in a car accident.

Keralavarman has written several works in Sanskrit as well as in Malayalam. Among his Malayalam works the *Mayūrasandeśa* and the translation of the *Śākuntala* are the most popular; they have established for him a high place in Malayalam literature. His Sanskrit works are the following: —*Tirunāl Prabandha* written at the age of sixteen on the occasion of the first birthday of Āyilyam Tiruṇāl Mahārāja' after Coronation, contains 64 verses and 9 prose passages. The *Śṛṅgāramañjarī*[19] is a Bhāṇa written at the instance of Āyilyam Tirunāl Mahārāja, and dedicated to him on 31st July, 1868. The Viṭa who is the hero of the play goes to the house of Śṛṅgāramañjarī, describing all the noteworthy things on the way, and chats with her for some time. There is little originality in this plot, and the style is too learned to be lucid; still it contains some happy ideas as in the description of the evening, comparing the stars becoming visible to the letters written on paper with lime juice becoming clear when smoke is passed over them. The *Nakṣatramālā*, also dedicated to Āyilyam Tirunāl, is a short poem containing 27 verses. The *Pādāravindaśataka* also deals with the king; later this was revised and renamed as the *Śrīmūlapādapadmaśataka*. The *Citraślokāvali* is another short poem full of verbal jugglery. The *Kaṁsavadhacampū*[20] is, perhaps, the best among his early works; it was composed in 1869. Among his Stotra works of this period are the *Gurupapavanapureśastotra* in 51 verses on God Kṛṣṇa of the temple at Guruvāyūr, *Skandaśataka* on the deity of the temple at Arippāṭṭa, *Lalitādaṇḍaka* written at the request of his wife in 1875, and the *Nāradīyamahimānuvarṇana*. The *Amṛtamathana* is also a short poem of his. In 1870 he composed the *Tūlabhāraśataka* on the occasion of the Tulābhāra of Āyilyam Tirunāl Mahārāja. Later in 1880 it was revised and dedicated to Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārāja. In 1887 he wrote the *Victoriacaritasaṅgraha* on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the coronation of Queen Victoria.

During his life in internment he wrote the *Kṣamāpaṇasahasra* in fifty sections of twenty verses, each section having a different metre, at the instanse of his teacher Ilattūr Rāmasvāmi Śāstri, requesting the king to release him. It did not have the desired effect. Then he composed the *Yamapraṇāmaśataka,*[21] which in 101 verses deals with the invocation to Yama, the god of death, by the inhabitants of Mathurā to kill their cruel king Kaṁsa, and which shows explicitly his invective against the king. In the next works *Latitāmbāstotra, Daṇḍanāthaśtotra,* and *Śatrusaṁhāraprārthanāṣṭaka* we find the same spirit of hatred towards the king who was responsible for his life of internment. It was during this time that he copied the *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Melpputtūr, adding some short notes.

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[19] *SPT*, VII, pp. 186-210.

[20] Published with the *Sumanorañjinī* commentary of Sundararāja.

After his release from prison he composed the *Viśākhavijaya*[22] which is definitely the best of his works. It is a Mahākāvya in twenty cantos dealing with Viśākham Tirunāal. Mahārāja containing many an autobiographical detail. This poem is written in his mature style. His commentary on the *Śukasandeśa* was published in 1884.[23] *Vyāghrālayeśaśataka, Śoṇādrīśastotra* and *Śākuntalapāramya* are his later works.

A. R. Rājarājavarman[24] was the nephew of Keralavarman. He was born in 1863 A.D. at Lakṣmīpuram palace in Caṅṅanāśśeri as the son of Bharaṇi Tirunāl Tampurāṭṭi and Vāsudevan Nambūtiri of Oṇamturutti Paṭṭi family. Among his teachers were Cunakkara Acyuta Vāriyar, and his own uncle Keralavarman. In 1889, his failure in the B.A. examination of the Madras University, elicited from him a fine poem called *Bhaṅgavilāpa.* Later he passed the examination. He married Svāti Tirunāl princess of Māvelikara. In 1890 he was appointed as Inspector of Schools, and in 1899 he became the Superintendent of Sanskrit studies in Travancore. He took his M.A. degree of the Madras University with a first rank, writing a thesis on "Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and his works". In 1912 he became the Professor of Oriental Languages in Trivandrum College. In 1918 he passed away.

Rājarājavarman has written several works both in Malayalam and in Sanskrit. His *Keralapāṇinīya* is a book on Malayalam grammar, which made him famous as 'Keralapāṇini'; and his *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* is even now the best elementary manual on poetics in Malayalam language. His Sanskrit works are the following:

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[21] Printed in Samskṛta Bhaskara Press, 1899.

[22] Samskṛta Bhaskara Press, 1900.

[23] *JRAS.*

[24] See M. R. Balakṛṣṇa Variyar, *Keralapāṇini, Sahityarañjini,* I, Trivandrum, 1946.

Aṅgalasāmrājya,[25] a historical Mahākāvya in 23 cantos and 1910 verses dealing with the British period of Indian history, the *Viṭavibhāvarī* or the *Rādhāmādhava*,[26] a short poem in four sections called *Yāmas*, dealing with the love episode of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; the *Gairvāṇīvijaya*,[27] an allegorical play in one act dealing with the introduction of Sanskrit studies in Travancore, the *Uddālakacarita* a prose work, giving the story of Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Tulābhāraprabandha* and *Ṛgvedakārikā*. His grammatical work *Laghupāṇinīya* is an original recast of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with his own explanations in a refreshingly independent manner. The *Karaṇapariṣkaraṇa* deals with the revision of the calendar. His minor works are *Vīṇāṣṭaka*. *Devīmaṅgala*, *Devīdaṇḍaka*, *Citraśloka*, *Pitṛvacana*, *Mātṛvacana*, *Rāgamudrāsaptaka*, *Vimānāṣṭaka*, *Meghopālambha* and *Padmanābhapañcaka*.

T. Ganapati Sastri,[28] son of Ramasubba Iyer, was born at Taruvai in Tinnevelly District in 1860 A.D. At the age of seventeen he composed the drama *Mādhavīvasanta*. In 1878 he joined the Travancore Service and in 1889 became the Professor in the Sanskrit College, Trivandrum; and later rose to the position of the Principal of the College. In 1908 he became the Curator of the Oriental Manuscripts Library. He edited 87 books in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The publication of the Trivandrum plays ascribed to Bhāsa, and his edition of the *Arthaśāstra*, with his own commentary based on an old Malayalam commentary, won him international reputation. He became a Mahāmahopādhyāya in 1918, and in 1924 he received the Honorary Ph.D. of the Tübingen University. He passed away in 1926.

Among his works are the following: *Śrīmūlacarita*, a poem dealing with the history of Travancore during the reign of Mūlam Tirunāl Mahārāja, *Bhāratavarṇana*, a poem describing India. *Tulāpuruṣadāna* dealing with the *Tulābhāra* ceremony in the palace, *Aparṇāstava* which is a Stotra on Goddess Pārvatī, *Cakravarttinīguṇamaṇimālā* on Queen Victoria, *Arthacitramaṇimālā* which is a work on rhetoric where all the illustrations are in praise of Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārāja, and *Setuyātrānuvārṇana* which describes in easy Sanskrit prose a pilgrimage to Rameśvaram, attacking many of the social evils of the day.

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[25] Published with short notes by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1901.
[26] Published from Pattambi, 1894.
[27] Published in Grantha script, Palghat, 1890.
[28] *HCSL*, p. 301; Obituary Notice, *Sāhiti*, III.

(iii) *Rāma Vāriyar of Kaikkulaṅṅara*

Rāma Vāriyar of Kaikkulaṅṅara[29] (1832-1896) was one of the most outstanding Sanskrit scholars of his time. Born at Kaikkulaṅṅara Kiḻakke Vāriyam in Talappilli taluk as the son of Nārāyaṇi Vārassyār and Kaitakkoṭṭu Bhaṭṭatiri, and educated at home by his uncles Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, he had his higher education in Vyākaraṇa, Alaṅkāra and Tarka under Govindan Nambiyār of Pālappurattu Putiyeṭam. Later he studied advanced texts on Tarka from Bhīmācārya, and Vedānta from Yogānanda Svāmikal at Māyippāḍi in South Canara. Yogānanda conferred on him three titles: *Vagdāsa, Rāmānandanātha* and *Paṇḍitapāraśavendra.* For some time he lived at Punnattur palace, teaching the princes there. Later he worked at Kunnamkulam and Trichur and wrote important Malayalam commentaries on several classical Sanskrit works like the following: *Raghuvaṁśa, Māgha, Naiṣadha, Kumārasambhava, Meghasandeśa, Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya, Kṛṣṇavilāsa, Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, Amarakośa, Siddhāntakaumudī* (*Pūrvārdha*), *Horā, Praśnamārga, Amarukaśataka, Devīsaptaśati, Gītagovinda* and *Mahiṣamaṅgalabhāṇa.* In Sanskrit he wrote a commentary called *Preyasī* on three cantos of the *Kumārasambhava.* His original works in Sanskrit consist of the Stotras: *Vāgānandalaharī* in praise of the Goddess of Speech in 108 verses written in *śikhariṇī* metre on the model of Śaṅkara's *Saundaryalaharī, Vāmadevastava* in Sragdharā metre praising God Śiva, *Vidyunmālāstuti* and *Vidyākṣaramālā.* He himself wrote the *Hṛdyā* commentary on the *Vāgānandalaharī* and the *Arthaprakāśikā* commentary on the *Vāmadevastava.* He has also written a few stray verses.[30] In his literary work he was encouraged by Pārayil Iṭṭūp and Māliyammāvu Kunjuvaried; all the works of Rāma Vāriyar were published by them. Among the students of Rāma Vāriyar are Kṣṛṇan Emprāntiri of Eṭamana who wrote the Malayalam commentary on the *Daśopaniṣads,* and T. C. Parameśvaran Mūssat, known as Abhinavavācaspati, who wrote Malayalam commentaries on the *Amarakośa* and the *Nārāyanīya,* and a Sanskrit work called *Samudāyabodha.*

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[29] T. C. Paramesvaran Mussat, *Life of Rāma Vāriyar*, Trichur, 1910; *KBSC*, IV, pp. 821ff; *KSC*, IV, pp. 267ff; *Sāhityapraṇayikal*, I, pp. 51f. *SPT*, VII, p. 317.

[30] e.g. शेषेशयाय विदुषे वेषेगाभीरवालसाम्यजुषे ।
तोषादुलूखलकृषे घोषपुषे रोचिषे नमोऽजनुषे ॥

(iv) *Eṭṭan Tampurān and his friends*

Mānavikrama Kavirājakumāra, or Eṭṭan Tampurān[31] as he was popularly known, was born in 1845 in the Paṭiññare Kovilakam of the Zamorin's family. He has several Sanskrit and Malayalam works to his credit, but he is known more as a patron of literature. It was under his patronage that the Sanskrit journal *Vijñānacintāmaṇi* under the editorship of Punnaśśeri Nīlakaṇṭha Śarma flourished. He invited the poets and scholars of the day to a 'Congress of Wits' to be held under his patronage, and published the various poems composed by the poets on the occasion under the title *Sahṛdayasamāgama*. He also popularized the habit of writing letters in Sanskrit, and he published such letters exchanged between himself and other scholars under the title *Lekhamālā*. The great scholar, R. V. Krishnamachariar, was a protégé of Mānavikrama.[32] To many scholars and poets Tampurān gave certificates in Sanskrit, and these have been published in his *Yogyatāpatrikāvali*. The *Dāvānalanavaratnamālā* edited by him is a collection of verses from different authors including himself, and describes a forest fire. Among his Sanskrit works are the following: *Lakṣmīkalyāṇa*, a social drama in five acts depicting the conflict between the old tradition of Indian life and the new Western civilisation,[33] *Śṛṅgāramañjarī* with his own studies about the style and literary merit of the work, *Keralavilāsa*, a fine poem in 105 verses dealing with the history of Kerala based on legends, *Pretakāminī*, a poem of 171 verses of Gīti metre, *Dhruvacarita* and *Raṇasiṅgarājacarita*, short poems in simple Sanskrit, *Vairāgyataraṅgiṇī*, *Sūktimuktāmaṇimālā*, and *Upadeśamuktāvali* dealing with ethical and religious themes, *Viśākhavijayollāsa* in praise of Keralavarman's *Viśākhavijaya*, *Ghoṣapurīmahārāṇicarita* giving the biography of his mother who passed away in 1902, *Sumaṅgalīcarita* in 129 verses describing the story of a devoted wife and the *Dīnadayāparacampū* which deals with the story of a crane carrying the fish from a small pond one by one on the pretext of taking them to another pond full of water, and then eating them. Many of his Stotra works like *Kṛṣṇāṣṭapadī*, *Kṛṣṇakeśādipādavarṇana*, *Kirā-*

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[31] Most of his works have been published from Paṭṭāmbi. (See *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, 1892-1906, 1906-1928). On Mānavikrama see also, *HCSL*, p. 252; *KBSC*, IV, p. 980; *KSC*, IV, pp. 472-9.

[32] The title 'Abhinavabhaṭṭabāṇa' was given to him by Eṭṭan Tampūran.

[33] It is the translation of a Malayalam social drama written by K. C. Kesava Piḷḷai.

tāṣṭapadī, and *Stavamañjarī* are also known. Mānavikrama has also written many works in Malayalam. He was an extempore poet in both languages. He passed away about 1920 A.D.

Nīlakaṇṭha Śarma of Punnaśśeri,[34] also known as Punnaśśeri Nambi, was a great scholar, who was a close friend of Mānavikrama. Nambi's family, in Valluvanāḍ in Malabar, is famous for Sanskrit scholarship. Nīlakaṇṭha was born in 1858 as the son of Nārāyaṇa Śarma. Besides his works on astrology he wrote *Paṭṭābhiṣekaprabandha*, *Śailābdhīśaśataka* and *Āryāśataka* or *Īhāpurāryāstava*. He is also the author of the *Sadarthabodhinī* commentary of the *Nīlakaṇṭhasandeśa* of his ancestor Śrīdharan Nambi, and the *Sārārthakalpavallī* on the *Mahiṣamaṅgalam Bhāṇa*. He also wrote the *Raghuvaṁśāsvāda*. He founded the Sanskrit College at Pattambi and was its Principal till his death. He was also the editor of the Sanskrit journal *Vijñānacintāmaṇi* in which appeared many interesting articles in Sanskrit.[35]

Śaṅkaran Mūssat of Kiḷakke Pullam,[36] also known as Kuññuṇṇi Mūssat (1827-1888) was a well known scholar in grammar and medicine. Among his students are Punnaśśeri Nīlakaṇṭha Śarma, Vāsuṇṇi Mūssāt, Karuttapāra Dāmodaran Nambūtiri and Maṇantala Nīlakaṇṭhan Mūssat. Only the *Śivakeśādipādastava* and a few stray verses[37] of his are known.

Vāsuṇṇi Mūssat[38] of Vellānaśśeri family in Kuṭṭūr in Pannani Taluk flourished during 1855 to 1914 A.D. He studied under Kuññuṇṇi Mūssat of Kiḷakke Pullam, and collaborated with Punnaśśeri Nīlakaṇṭha Śarma and Mānavikrama Eṭṭan Tampurān. Among his Sanskrit works are *Mānavikramasāmūtiricarita* on

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[34] *HCSL*, p. 302; *KBSC*, V, p. 980; *Bhāṣācaritram* by A. Govinda Pilla, p. 403ff.

[35] Scholars like K. Vāsudevan Mūssat, K. Dāmodaran Nambudiri, V. Nārāyaṇa Menon, K. Rāma Vāriyar, C. Śankuṇṇi Nair, U. P. Sankunni Menon and Kuttikrishna Marar used to contribute articles in the journal.

[36] *KSC*, IV, pp. 260ff.

[37]
आस्वादितं बुधजनैरितरैरलभ्यं
शब्दागमाब्धिमथनोत्थितसारभूतम् ।
श्रीकौस्तुभप्रभृतिसोदरतां दधानं
भट्टोजिदीक्षितवचोमृतमास्वदध्वम् ॥

[38] *KSC*, IV, pp. 698-703. He was also known as Vāsudeva Śarma.

Eṭṭan Tampurān, *Śrīpādādikeśapañcāśikā*, *Māyāstava*, *Vṛttaratnamālā* and the *Sārūpyasāmrājya*, a Campū on the death of two members of the Āḻvāñceri family. He has also composed many popular stray verses.[39]

Dāmodaran Nambūtiri[40] of Karuttapāra in Kuṭamālūr (1846-98) was also a student of Kuññuṇṇi Mūssad of Kiḻakke Pullam and a protégé of Mānavikrama Eṭṭan Tampurān. In Sanskrit he wrote the *Akṣayapātra vyāyoga*, *Kulaśekharavijaya Nāṭaka*, *Mandāramālikā vīthī*, and *Viṣṇubhujaṅgaprayāta*.

(v) *Cochin Royal Family*

Subhadrā,[41] known as Ikku Amma Tampurān, of the Cochin royal family who lived from 1844 to 1921 A.D. was the daughter of Kuññippilla Tampurāṭṭi and Kuñcu Nambūtirippāḍ of Kūṭalāttupuram house. Among her teachers were Govindan Nambyār of Pālappurattu Putiyeṭam, Subrahmaṇyan Nambūtiri of Etappalam, and Paṭutol Vidvān Nambūtirippāḍ. She married Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri of Cennās family, and gave birth to five sons and two daughters. Her Sanskrit works are: *Saubhadrastava*, *Bhagavatyaṣṭaka*, *Pūrṇatrayīśa-keśādipādavarṇana*, *Vañculeśastava*, *Pūrṇatrayīśastava* in Dravidian metre, and the *Keśādipādavarṇana* of the deity at the temple at Paḻayannūr.

Rāmavarman, the late Ex-Highness of Cochin State, well-known as Rājarṣi, was also a very great Sanskrit scholar and a patron of learning. He started the Sanskrit College in Trippuṇitura and instituted the annual conferences of scholars well versed in the various branches of learning. He has not written any work other than *Vedāntaparibhāṣāsaṅgraha*.

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[39] e.g. "आलिलिङ्गाभिरतनुज्वालः पुष्पवतीर्लताः ।
सन्ति स्मार्तद्विजालापास्तदा तत्र किमद्भुतम् ॥"
"सुमित्रानन्दनासक्तममुं राजानमीक्ष्य वा ।
अथवाङ्गुष्ठकायं मां सिन्धुराक्रोशति ध्रुवम् ॥"
"कुर्वन् शाखासु सञ्चारं जनयन् द्विजसाध्वसम् ।
पश्चात्कलितवालोऽयमागतो रामवानरः ॥"

[40] *KSC*, IV, p. 528ff.

[41] V. Narayana Menon, "Subhadra alias Ikku Amma Tampuran", *Sahityāraman*, II, The Deccan Publishing House, Calicut.

Rāmavarman,[42] Kuññuṇṇi Tampurān, popularly known as Parīkṣit Tampurān,[43] is the Mahārāja of Cochin. He was born in 1876 as the son of Maṅku Tampurāṭṭi and Rāman Nambūtiri of Oṭṭūr house. In 1907 he married Mādhavi Amma of Iṭṭyāṇattu house, daughter of the late Ex-Highness Rāmavarman of Cochin. He is one of the greatest scholars in Kerala, and is an authority on Nyāya. His commentary called *Subodhinī* on the *Bhāṣāpariccheda Muktāvali, Dinakarīya* and *Ramarudrīya* (*Taraṅgiṇī*)[44] is an important work in that field. He has also written the *Bhāvārthadīpikā* commentary on the *Rukmiṇīsvayaṁvara* Campū of Iṭaveṭṭikkāṭ Nambūtiri. In collaboration with Paṇḍitarāja Rāma Piṣāroṭi he commented on the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* of Kālidāsa.[45] Among his other Sanskrit works are *Prahlādacarita, Ambarīṣacarita, Sukanyācarita, Rādhāmādhava* and the Stotras *Gaṅgāstava* and *Purāṇanīlayadurgāstava.*

Paṇḍitarāja Rāma Piṣaroṭi[46] a great authority in poetics and Nyāya, was a friend of Parīkṣit Tampurān. He was a member of Kalleṅkara Piṣāram in Cochin State. For a long time he was the Sanskrit Paṇḍit in the Mahārāja's College, Ernakulam. In collaboration with Parīkṣit Tampurān, he wrote a commentary on the *Śākuntala.* His *Bālapriyā* commentary on *Dhvanyālokalocana* is well known. He has also commented on the *Mālavikāgnimitra,* the *Śukasandeśa,* the *Kuvalayānanda, Devīmāhātmya, Vyutpattivāda* and the second part of the *Nārāyaṇīya.* He passed away in October 1946.

(vi) *Other Modern Poets*

The Pantalam royal family produced some talented Sanskrit scholars in the nineteenth century A.D. Rājarājavarma of Vaṭakke

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[42] Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer, *SPT*, V-2, p. 81f.

[43] *Cf.* परीक्षितोऽयं जठराज्जनन्याः
स्वनिर्गमे मन्थरतां प्रयाते ।
भिषग्वरेणाशु च पालितोऽतः
परीक्षिदाख्यां त्ववरः प्रपेदे ॥
(*Mālā*, by A. V. Krishna Variyar)

[44] Published from Trippunittura (1956).

[45] Published from "The Mangalodayam Ltd.", Trichur.

[46] See the Obituary Note on him by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *ALB*, X-4, pp. 257ff.

Manuscripts are with his son K. Narayana Piṣāroti, Trichur.

Koṭṭāram (1815-1901)[47] was a classmate of Ilattūr Rāmasvāmi Śāstri, and wrote the *Dharmaśāstṛśataka*, *Kṛṣṇalīlā*, *Devīstotra*, *Śabarigirīśastotra* and *Pantalamahādevaśataka*. Keralavarma of Neytallūr palace (1845-1890) wrote the *Ārdrāmahotsava Campū.*[48] His younger brother Keralavarma[49] (1858-1906) is the author of the *Bāṇayuddhacampū* and the poem *Rukmāṅgadacarita* in Sanskrit. The Malayalam poet Keralavarma (1879-1918)[50] who founded the *Kavanakaumudī* journal exclusively devoted to Malayalam poetry was a Sanskrit scholar and wrote *Dharmaśāstraṣṭaka*, *Śrīkṛṣṇastotra* and a Bhāṇa called *Rāsavilāsa*. Rāghavavarma of the same family (1874-1940) wrote the *Māṭṛbhūpālacarita* on Rājarṣi Rāmavarma of Cochin, and the *Kṛttikā Bhāṇa*.

Parameśvaran Mūttat, or Pāccu Mūttat, of Vaikkam (1816-1883)[51] studied under Godavarma Yuvarāja of Koṭuṅṅallūr. He was a famous Sanskrit scholar and Āyurvedic physician of the time. In 1870 he became the Sthānin of Vaṭṭappalli in Śucīndram. His known Sanskrit works are *Rāmavarmacarita*, a poem in eight cantos on Āyilyam Tirunāl Mahārāja of Travancore, *Nakṣatramālā*, *Kāśiyātrā*, two works on medicine called *Hṛdayapriyā* and *Śukhasādhaka*, a work on Āśauca called *Sukhabodhikā*, and the *Arthavimarśinī* commentary on the *Rājasūyaprabandha* of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. An incomplete autobiographical article of Pāccu Mūttat in Malayalam is known.

Ravivarma Koil Tampurān of Lakṣmīpuram palace in Changanasseri (1862-1900)[52] wrote both in Malayalam and in Sanskrit His Sanskrit works are: *Putanāmokṣa*, a Campū composed in 1885 A.D. and the Stotras *Kātyāyanyāṣṭaka*, *Lalitāmbādaṇḍaka*, and *Nakṣatramālā*. His brother Keralavarman is the author of *Maṅgalaprārthanāśataka* about Mūlam Tirunāl Mahārāja's trip to Benaras.

Bhāskara Śarma of Vaṭṭapilli in Śucīndram who flourished in the last century is the author of a short poem *Kṛṣṇodanta*[53] in

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47. *KSC*, IV, p. 666.
48. *Ibid*, p. 668; *TC* 1350. It deals with the Ardra festival celebrated at Pantalam.
49. *KSC*, IV, p. 683.
50. *Ibid*, p. 666ff.
51. *KBSC*, IV, p. 749f; *KSC*, IV p. 155f; Autobiographical Notes, *SPT*, III-3; *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* published in *TSS*, 111.
52. *SPT*, X, pp. 1ff; *KSC*, IV, pp. 550ff.
53. *ALB*, VIII, pp. 107-110; *TC* 1433.

90 stanzas of Anuṣṭubh metre written on the model of the popular *Rāmodanta;* he has also written a Mahākāvya called *Vāsudevacarita*[54] in ten cantos containing about thousand stanzas. The story of Kṛṣṇa is described in both. The first is a very simple poem intended for beginners in Sanskrit; the other is written in a lucid style on the model of Sukumāra's *Kṛṣṇavilāsa.* The Goddess at Kumāranallūr is praised in both. The Adyar Library contains a manuscript of the *Kṛṣṇodanta* in the author's own handwriting and is dated 1849 A.D.[55]

Vāsu Nambi of Kaṭattanāṭ (1804-1864)[56] belonged to Koṭṭur in Kurumbranāṭ Taluk, and was patronized by a Rāja of Kaṭattanāṭ, named Udayavarman. The author of the simple poem *Śrīkṛṣṇacarita* is said to have been an ancestor of Nambi. Only a few stray verses of Nambi are known.[57]

Vidvān Subrahmaṇyan Nambūtirippāḍ of Paṭutol family[58] (1823-1861) was a famous grammarian, and wrote a commentary called *Prasāda* on the *Śabdenduśekhara* of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. His teacher was Kūḍallūr Vāsudevan Nambūtirippāḍ.

Nārāyaṇan Nambūtiri of Śivolli (1868-1905)[59] was a humorous poet in Malayalam; in Sanskrit he wrote two works: *Pārvatīviraha* and *Koleśvaramāhātmya.*

Nārāyaṇan Ilayat[60] of Cāttampilli house in Maccāṭ, popularly known as Maccāṭ Ilayat, is the author of many works in Malayalam and Sanskrit. He flourished from 1765 to 1842 A.D. He was a well known astrologer, and his teacher was a student of Parameśvara, author of the astrological work *Praśnamārga.* Among his Sanskrit works are the Yamaka poem *Rāmacarita,* or *Rāmāyaṇa* containing 61 verses, and *Dhānyamukhālayeśapañcāsikā* in 50 verses of Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre extolling the Deity of

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[54] *TC* 1524. There is a good manuscript in Adyar Library also.

[55] Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer says (*KSC,* III, p. 77) that the author and date of *Vāsudevacarita* are unknown. A comparison of the work with the *Kṛṣṇodanta* will show that Bhāskara is its author. He was not a Nambūtiri as Ullūr suggests, but belonged to the Community of Mūttat.

[56] *KSC,* IV, p. 104.

[57] गुणे गुणो नेति कणादवादो यथार्थं एत्रेति कृतार्थं भावः ।
भवामि भैमीश्वर तावकीने गुणे गुणस्यापि कणो हि नास्ति ॥

[58] *Ibid,* p. 258.

[59] *Rasikarañjini,* IV, p. 531; *KSC,* IV, pp. 520 ff.

[60] See K. Narayana Pisharoti, "Maccāṭ Ilayat", *SPT,* IX-2, pp. 128ff, Ullūr S. Paramesvara Iyer, *KSC,* III, pp. 527ff.

Nelluvāy. There is an anonymous commentary on the Yamaka poem.[61] In Malayalam he wrote a large number of folk songs dealing with various mythological themes in a very chaste and lucid style.

Kṛṣṇa,[62] more familiarly known as Ṛṣi Vidvān, (1823-1878) was a well known scholar of the nineteenth century Kerala. He was born in 1823 as the youngest son of Umā and Nārāyaṇa in the Ṛṣi family in Ayaṅkuti near Kaṭatturuttu in Travancore. He studied under Parameśvaran Mūttat of Vaikkom, and later went to the Covvanṅūr Sabhāmaṭham for higher studies. He married a princess named Kāvu of the Cirálayam royal family in Kunnamkulam. No work of his except a few stray verses is available.[6 He passed away in 1878 A.D.

Bālagovinda, or Koccugovinda Vāriyar,[64] of Arippāṭ in Travancore is the author of the *Govindabrahmānandīya* which is a summary of Śrīnivāsa's famous commentary on the *Abhijñānaśākuntala.* He lived in the first half of the nineteenth century, and his father Śaṅkara Vāriyar was a teacher of Svāti Tirunā Mahārāja of Travancore.

Koccuśankaran Mūssat of Vaṭakkeṭam (c. 1775-1832)[65] was a scholar patronized by the chief of the Pāliyam family in Chendamangalam. He wrote the *Arthaprakāśikā* commentary on the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (*Pūvārdha*) and the *Sadarthaprakāśikā* commentary on the eleventh Skandha of *Bhāgavata.* He has also written an original work on grammar called *Dhātupāṭhakārikā.*

Rājarājavarma Koil Tampurān of Kilimānūr, famous as *Karīndra,* (1812-45)[66] was the author of the Kathakali work

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[61] The commentary is available in Adyar Library, though in the Descriptive Catalogue, it has not been identified. It has been published by I. N. Menon.

[62] E. V. Raman Nambūtiri, "Kṛṣṇan Ṛṣi", L. S. Press, Kottakkal, 1927.

[63] e.g. कान्तारमद्य भवदीयवियोगतप्ता
कान्तारवह्निपतिता हरिणाङ्गनेव ।
भस्मीभवेयमिति शङ्कितमानसाहं
गात्राणि नेत्रसलिलैः स्नपयाम्यजस्रम्॥

[64] *KSC,* IV, pp. 82ff.

[65] *KSC,* III, pp. 496ff.

[66] *KSC,* IV, pp. 45ff.

Rāvaṇavijaya; in Sanskrit he wrote the *Kirātaviṁśati* and som Stotras and stray verses.

Vedāntarāmānujācāriar was a Vaiṣṇava Brahmin of the Tamil country who wrote the *Mānavikramīya campū* about his patron, the Zamorin of Kozhikode who was the son of Manoramā, and who died in 1856 A.D.[67]

Rājarājavarma of Anantapuram palace (1837-1913)[68] wrote the *Lalitā* commentary on the first three cantos of Agastyabhaṭṭa's *Bālabhārata.*

Nīlakaṇṭha Tīrthapāda[69] was a famous scholar and social reformer of Kerala. Born in 1871 at Mūvāttupuzha, he studied Sanskrit and later became a disciple of Kuññan Pilla famous as Caṭṭambi Svāmikal. He has written profusely in Sanskrit and has to his credit several works, mostly philosophical and devotional Stotras: *Advaitapārijāta, Saubhāgyalaharī, Śrīstavaratnākara, Saṅkalpalatikā, Svārājyasarvasva, Śrīkaṇṭhāmṛtalaharī, Yogāmṛtataraṅgiṇī, Karṇāmṛtataraṅgiṇī, Karṇāmṛtārṇava, Kaivalyakandalī, Śiśubhāgavatapañcikā, Vidhunavasudhālaharī, Vidhustavamadhudrava, Sāttvasudhākara, Haribhaktimakaranda, Ātmadarśa, Lakṣmīkaṭākṣamālā, Acyutānandalaharī, Ambākṛpāmbuvāha,* and *Praśnottaramañjarī.* He has also written many works in Malayalam. There is a voluminous biography on him in Malayalam.

Keśavan Nambīśan of Kilālūr was a popular Sanskrit poet who flourished in the beginning of the twentieth century. His *Bhadrādrināthastava* in 108 verses on Śiva of the temple at Perumala, and the *Kirātarudrastava* which is a panegyric on the deity at Kilālūr temple are known.[70] He has also composed a large number of stray verses on various occasions.

Parameśvaran Poṭṭi of Tāḷmaṇ[71] who lived in the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. wrote a Stotra in 1000 verses on the Deity of the temple at Ceṅṅannūr; it is known by three names: *Sāhasrikā, Aṣṭakamālikā and Śoṇādrīśastotra.* Vāsudevan Poṭṭi of

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[67] *Ibid*, p. 110.

[68] *Ibid*, p. 436f.

[69] *KBSC*, V, pp. 949ff. *Śrīnīlakaṇṭhatīrthapādasvāmicaritrasamuccayam* by P. Nanu Pilla and N. Krishna Pilla, Trichur, 1920.

[70] Both these are printed from Trichur.

[71] *KSC* IV, p. 116.

Mutteṭat (1833-1893)[72] in Ceṅṅannūr, known as Vāsudevagīrvāṇakavi, wrote five works in Sanskrit: *Kaṁsavadha* in four cantos, *Kucelavṛtta*, *Skāndacampū*, *Viṣṇudāsacarita* and *Vṛṣalāṣṭaka*.

Keśavan Vaidyan of Velutteri (1838-1896)[73] in Maṇakkāṭ near Trivandrum belonged to the Īḷva community; in Sanskrit he wrote the *Viśākhavilāsa*, a poem on Viśākham Tirunāl Mahārāja of Travancore. A Campū called *Śvakākasaṁlāpa* was written by Kālu Āśān of Maṭavūr (1856-1888).[74] Subrahmanya Śāstri of Nalleppalli in Chittur taluk (1828-1887)[75] was a writer in Malayalam, Sanskrit and Tamil; his Sanskrit works are *Śākuntalam* Kathakali work, *Lalitavilāsa*, and an astrological work called *Agaṇita*.

Udayavarma of Puttan Koṭṭāram in Mavelikkara (1844-1920)[76] was a musician and a scholar, and has written both in Sanskrit and in Malayalam; his Sanskrit works are the Stotras *Rāmanāmāvali*, *Kṛṣṇanāmāvali*, *Devīnāmāvali*, *Kṛṣṇalīlāstuti* and *Ānandapañjara*.

Rājarājavarma of Eṇṇakkāṭ (1853-1917)[77] was a grammarian and poet who wrote in Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇakeśādipādastava*, *Lakṣaṇāsvyaṁvara Campū*, *Śrīmūlakāpadānastava*, and the grammatical work *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāsiddhāntasaṅgraha* summarizing the *Siddhāntakaumudī* in simple Anuṣṭubh verses.

Kṛṣṇa Vāriyar of Pantalam (1859-1932)[78] has writiten two works in Sanskrit: a Prabandha called *Mānasollāsa* and the *Śāstṛstotra* on the Deity at Vayaskara temple.

Kuññan Vāriyar of Maṅkulaṅṅara Vāriyam[79] in Ponnani taluk (1872-1942), also called Rudradāsa, was a well known Āyurvedic physician and a Sanskrit scholar. Among his Sanskrit works are *Śrīrāmavarmavijaya*, a Mahākāvya in ten cantos dealing with the life of Rājarṣi Rāmavarma of Cochin, and *Devīstavamālikā*.

Kṛṣṇa Vāriyar of Kaṭattanāṭ (1867-1936)[80] was a protégé of Kaṭattanāṭ Udayavarma Raja. In Sanskrit he wrote *Śrīrāma-*

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72. KSC IV p. 242f.
73. *Ibid*, p. 230.
74. *Ibid*, p. 216.
75. *Ibid*, pp. 290ff.
76. *Ibid*, p. 542
77. *Ibid*, p. 561.
78. *Ibid*, p. 575.
79. *Ibid*, p. 712.
80. *Ibid*, p. 727.

varmamahārājābhiṣeka in four cantos dealing with the coronation of the king of Cochin.

Avināśi Eḻuttaśśan (1864-1909)[81] belonged to Kuruttikkaṭavat Vāḻayil house in South Malabar; in Sanskrit he wrote two Stotras *Mūkāmbikāstotra* and *Guruvāyupureśastava.*

Nārāyaṇan Mūs of Vayaskara (1841-1902)[82] belonged to the Plāntol family of Āyurvedic physicians in Kottayam. He is well known as the author of the Malayalam Kathakali work *Duryodhanavadham;* his Sanskrit works are *Śyenasandeśa, Nakṣatravṛttṣvali* and *Citraprabandha,* also called *Śāstṛstuti.*

Nārāyaṇan Mūs of Taikkāṭ in Trichur (1870-1907)[83] also belonged to one of the great families of Āyurvedic physicians. His Sanskrit work is the poem called *Yādavadānavīya.*

Jayanta, well known as Kuññuṇṇi Nambiyār of Paṭṭat family in Irinjalakkuda (1804-1874)[84] was patronized by Svāti Tirunāl Mahārāja and his successor Uttram Tirunāl Mahārāja of Travancore. Besides the Bhāṇa called *Rasaratnākara,* he has also written some stray verses.[85]

In the Kaṭattanāṭ royal family in Malabar there were some scholars in the nineteenth century A.D.[86] Śaṅkaravarma Rāja, also known as Appu Tampūran, who flourished from 1774 to 1838 A.D. was a great astronomer, and wrote the *Sadratnamālā* in 1824. Queen Lakṣmī of the same family who lived during 1845—1909 A.D. is the author of *Santānagopāla,*[87] a poem in three cantos, the third

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81. *KSC* IV p. 703.
82. *Ibid,* p. 567ff.
83. *Ibid,* p. 527.
84. *Ibid,* p. 98ff. *R* 3307. Krishnamachariar's statement (*HCSL,* 702) that Jayanta lived in Chinglepet District is not correct.
85. e.g. "वीणावादादिदानीं विरम सुरमुने कोणकाण्डैरकाण्डे
को वा कोलाहलोऽसौ निखिलबुधमनोनन्दने नन्दनेऽस्मिन् ।
श्रीवञ्चिक्षोणिभर्तृप्रचुरवितरणाकर्णनात् कल्पकद्रो-
र्व्रीडानम्राग्रशाखासुमहरणभवः सुभ्रुवामभ्रवाहः ॥"
"राधेयं तटिनीकेलिवने सहसा कलालिरागमतरुते ।
चपलकलायवनरुचि प्रियतममामोदयार्द्रता बहुचतुरम् ॥"
(This could be read both as Sanskrit and as Malayalam)
86. *Bhāṣācaritram,* p. 328; *KSC,* IV, pp. 480-7; III, p. 499.
87. *HCSL,* p. 396; printed at Trichur.

being in the Yamaka style, which deals with the story of Arjuna restoring to life the dead sons of a Brahmin. Recently Professor Mario Vallauri of the University of Turin in Italy has edited this poem with an Italian translation. Lakṣmī also wrote the *Bhāgavatasaṁkṣepa.* Another member of that family was Ravivarman (1871-1913) who wrote a century of verses called *Anyāpadeśaśataka* which was published in 1910 A.D.[88] Udayavarman of that family (1864-1906) was a journalist and a patron of letters; in Sanskrit he wrote a Bhāṇa called *Rasikabhūṣaṇa.*

Nīlakaṇṭhan Mūssat of Manantala[89] in Kaṭattanāṭ was a scholar patronized by Udayavarma Rajā. He flourished during 1867 to 1946 A.D. and was the Sanskrit Pandit in Brennam College, Tellichery. Among his Sanskrit works are *Nīlakaṇṭhaśataka, Śrīrāmapañjara, Vijayaviṁśati, Śṛṅgāraśṛṅgaka* and *Dharmapraśāstṛśataka.*

In the Kunniyūr family at Kuṭṭamat in the Kasargode taluk there have been many Sanskrit scholars.[90] Of these Kuññuṇṇi Kurup (1813-1885) was the son of Śaṅkaravarma Rāja of Kaṭattanāṭ and Śrīdevī Keṭṭilamma. His Sanskrit works include *Devīmāhātmya* in 130 verses divided into twelve cantos, *Kapotasandeśa* and *Vyāsotpattisaṁkṣepa* in 36 verses. His nephew Rāma Kurup (1847-1905) was a well known Yamaka poet in Sanskrit, and wrote *Subhadrāharaṇa, Gopālakeḷī, Govindaśataka,* short Stotras like *Ānandajananī, Sārasvata, Lakṣmīpraśasti Girikanyāṣṭaka, Devīstotra, Mahābalāṣṭaka, Śivastotra Dhānvantara* and *Mṛtyuñjayamukundastotra,* the two Yamaka poems *Rukmiṇīsvayaṁvara,* and a work on Viṣavaidya called *Sarvagaralapramocana.* Of these *Rukmiṇīsvayaṁvara* is the most well known, and contains three cantos. The Malayalam poet Kuññikṛṣṇa Kurup (1880-1944) has written two Stotras in Sanskrit: *Mūkāmbikāṣoḍaśī* and *Anubhūtimañjarī.*

Śambhu Śarma, author of the *Sāttvikasvapna,*[91] was a Tulu Brahmin who studied at Trivandrum, and later worked in the Sanskrit College at Pattambi. He was a brilliant scholar, but passed away at the age of 32. The *Sāttvikasvapna* is an interesting poem in 100 verses describing the conference of a bull, a dog, a monkey, a fox, aparrot and so on, with a welcome speech Presidential Address etc., parodying political meetings. It also contains a veiled attack on British Imperialism. This work has been published with a commentary by K. Kuttikrishna Marar.

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[88] Printed in Srikrishnavilasam Press, Tanjore, 1910.

[89] *KSC,* IV, p. 710.

[90] *Ibid,* pp. 733-50.

[91] Published from Trichur, 1922.

V. Krishnan Tampi, B.A., (1890-1938) who was the Principal of the Sanskrit College at Trivandrum, wrote four short, beautiful social plays dealing with historical romantic themes taken from Rajput Muslim period: *Lalitā*, *Pratikriyā*, *Vanajyotsnā* and *Dharmasya Sūkṣmā gatiḥ*.[92] He wrote the *Śrīrāmakṛṣṇacarita* as a text for Kathākālakṣepa. He was also a well known writer in Malayalam.

P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri who passed away in 1947 was a recognized scholar with several works to his credit both in Sanskrit and in Malayalam. His *Tarkasāra*, *Vākyatattva* and the *Ṭippaṇis* on the *Śukasandeśa* and the *Kokilasandeśa* were published from Trichur.[93]

Tapovanaswāmi, (1889-1956) a great *sannyāsin* from Kerala, who had his *Ashram* in the Himalayas, wrote the philosophical poem *Saumyakāśiṣastotra*,[94] an autobiography entitled *Īśvaradarśana* or *Tapovanacarita*;[95] and some other stotras. His style is chaste and dignified.

Krishna Pisharoti of Āṭṭūr (1878-1964) is a well known scholar in music and Nyāya and has written several works in Malayalam both literary and scholarly. His *Saṅgītacandrikā*[96] is an original work on the theory of classical Indian music written in the form of Sanskrit sūtras with elaborate explanations in Malayalam. He has also written some short plays in Sanskrit on Kerala historical themes.

Nārāyaṇa Menon of Vallathol (1878-1958), the great Malayalam poet of Kerala, has also written a few works in Sanskrit such as *Mātṛviyoga* in 21 verses, the *Triyāmā* and *Saṁllāpapura* written in collaboration with V. Vāsuṇṇi Mūssat, *Arjunavijayanāṭaka* and a Stotra called *Śrīkṛṣṇastava* besides many stray verses.[97] The famous Malayalam poet Kumāran Āśān has also written some stray verses and stotras in Sanskrit.

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[92] *HCSL*, p. 674; Published from Trivandrum, 1924.

[93] Mangalodayam Ltd., Trichur.

[94] Published from Ahmadabad, 1935.

[95] Published from Ahmadabad, 1945, 7; Trichur, 1950. Also Calcutta, 1947.

[96] Geetha Press, Trichur, 1956.

Śāstṛśarman, popularly known as Kuñcu Nambūtirippāḍ, of Māntiṭṭa is a well known scholar in Nyāya; his wife Koccikkāvu Tampūran is also a scholar in Sanskrit The *Gaṅgālaharī* in 24 *taraṅgas* of Kuñcu Nambūtirippāḍ has been published recently with a detailed commentary by the author himself. A short *Viśvanāthāṣṭaka* is appended to it.[98]

P. S. Vāriyar, founder of the Ārya Vaidyaśālā, Kottakkal, was an authority on Āyurveda and wrote two important works on the subject: the *Bṛhacchārīraka* and the *Aṣṭāṅgaśārīraka*.

V. Narayanan Nair (Vaṭakkeppāṭṭu) was an erudite Sanskrit scholar and an authority on Āyurveda. His *Aṇugrahamīmāṁsā*[99] is a scientific work on bacteriology from the point of view of Āyurveda. Among his literary works the most well known is the *Mahātmanirvāṇa*,[100] an elegiac poem written on the death of Mahatma Gandhi. His style is pure and chaste.

K. Acyuta Poduval, Professor of Nyāya in the Sanskrit College at Trippunittura, wrote the *Vilāpasaptaśati*,[101] a poem in 700 stanzas bemoaning the death of H. H. Rāmavarma of Cochin, well known as Rājarṣi. He has also written a stotra work called *Śivastuti*, and the *Laghugīti* which is a poem in four cantos on the life of Rāmavarma, Parīkṣit Tampurān, of Cochin.

Govindan Nambutirippad of Taraṇanallūr Neṭumpalli family is a scholar devotee who wrote commentaries on the *Āśaucacintāmaṇi* and on the *Santānagopālam Campū* of Aśvati Tirunāl Rāmavarma of Travancore. Among his literary works is the *Saṅgameśastotra*[102] on the deity of the temple at Irinjalakkuda, which contains a summary of the *Rāmāyaṇa* also.

K. P. Krishnan Bhaṭṭatirippāḍ of Kunnattu family is another erudite scholar; he wrote the *Tilaparvatadāna* and other short works including the *Āryāstuti* in eight verses of Yamaka style.[103]

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[97] See the bibliography at the end of *Vallattol Saptati Volume*.

[98] Published in 1957.

[99] Calicut, 1938.

[100] Published with the author's own commentary, Trichur, 1954.

[101] Not published.

[102] Published from Trivandrum, 1956.

[103] Published from Trichur, 1954.

Sāmbaśiva Śāstri who succeeded Gaṇapati Śāstri as the Curator of the Sanskrit Library, Trivandrum, wrote the *Citrābhyudaya Kāvya* about the king of Travancore, and commented on portions of the *Prakriyāsarvasva.* He also edited several important works in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

Oṭṭūr Uṇṇi Nambūtirippāḍ, author of *Śyāmasundara* and other works, is a scholar devotee who commands a very fluent and lucid style.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (1895-1963) is a well-known scholar who has to his credit some Sanskrit literary works also. He edited with his own commentary the *Mayūrasandeśa* of Udayarāja; his *Bhāratarāṣṭrasaṅghaṭanā* was the first attempt at translating into Sanskrit specimens from the *Indian Constitution;* another work of his is the *Sāṁskṛtagranthivighaṭana* on simplifying Sanskrit; and he has also published a poem on H. H. Rāmavarma, Parīkṣit Tampurān of Cochin and a few other short poems.[104]

There were several distinguished scholars who did not care to write original works in Sanskrit, but remained merely as torch bearers of Sanskrit scholarship, transmitting from their teachers to their students the rich heritage of learning. The family of Kūḍallūr, famous for the study of Sanskrit grammar produced scholars like Vāsudevan Nambūtirippād and Kunjunni Nambūtirippād. The students of the latter were Mahāmahopādhyāya Killimaṅgalat Nārāyaṇan Nambūtirippād and Śābdikatilakam Ayyā Śāstrigal of Chendamangalam.

(vi) *Sanskrit Writing To-day*

In recent times many works have been translated into Sanskrit from other languages. Some of the poems of Kumāran Āśān, Vallattol Nārāyaṇa Menon and Ullūr S. Parameśvara Iyer, the three great poets of modern Kerala who were responsible for the literary renaissance in Malayalam, have been rendered into Sanskrit by scholars like E. V. Raman Nambutiri and N. Gopala Pilla. *Mahākavikṛtayaḥ*[105] and *Keralabhāṣāvivarttāḥ*[106] by E. V. Raman

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[104] Most of these poems were published in the Adyar Library Bulletin. The poem on Parīkṣit Tampurān was published in Malayalam script by Sundara Iyer & Sons, Trichur.

[105] Trivandrum, 1945. Many of the short poems were published in the journal *Śrīcitra.* See also Dr. V. Raghavan, *ALB,* XX, pp. 20ff.

[106] Trivandrum, 1947.

Nambūtiri are two collections of translations of short poems of Ullūr and Vallattol. Kumāran Āśān's famous *Cintāviṣṭayāya Sīta* has been translated by Gopala Pilla in his *Sītāvicāralaharī*;[107] the *Premasaṅgītam* by Ullūr has also been rendered into Sanskrit by him.[108] Among other translations from Malayalam literature may be mentioned the *Nalinī* of Kumāran Āśān translated by V. Raman Pilla,[109] and also by Mānan Gurukkal,[110] and the *Kesavīya*[111] of K. C. Kesava Pilla, translated by K. P. Narayana Pisharoti. C. Narayanan Nair of Nemmara has rendered the story of the Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram* into a Sanskrit poem of six cantos, under the name *Kaṇṇakīkovalam*.[112] The *Madirotsava*[113] by P. V. Krishnan Nair is a translation of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat* based on Fitzgerald's English rendering. Rāmavarma of the Cranganore family has written a poem entitled *Kaumudī*[114] which in nine cantos gives the story of Goldsmith's *Hermit*. The *Lakṣmīkalyāṇa* of Eṭṭan Tampurān is a translation of K. C. Kesava Pilla's Malayalam drama of the same name.[115] *Subhadrārjunam*, a drama by Ikkāvamma of Toṭṭekkāṭ family, has been rendered into Sanskrit by Keśava Śāstri of Karamana in Trivandrum.[116] Vaṭakkuṅkūr Rajarajavarma Raja has translated the third canto of Ullūr's poem *Umākeralam*. Dr. Sreekrishna Sarma translated the short drama *Sandhyā* of G. Sankara Kurup.

Occasionally some writers try to avoid the conventional themes and forms. Thus we have the *Alabdhakarmīya*[117] by K. R. Nair of Alwaye, a drama dealing with the plight of an unemployed Sanskrit scholar, the *Gāthākādambarī* by Varavūr Nārāyaṇa Menon describing the story of *Kādamburī* in Malayalam metres,

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[106] Trivandrum, 1947.

[107] Trivandrum, 1942.

[108] Published from Trivandrum, *Śrīcitra*, 1948-9.

[109] Published from Trivandrum.

[110] Not published.

[111] Not published.

[112] Salem, 1955.

[113] Trichur, 1945.

[114] *HCSL*, p. 664. He also wrote *Devīpādādikeśastotra.*

[115] See above.

[116] *KSC*, IV, p. 637.

[117] *Śrīcitra*, 1942-3. For details on some of these works see Dr. V. Raghavan, 'Sanskrit Literature', *Contemporary Indian Literature*, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1957.

and *Viśvāmitra*[118] a prose work by N. Nilakantha Pillai. Ambāḍi Devaki Amma of Queen Mary's College, Madras, has recently produced a musical Radio play, *Santānagopāla*. Bālarāma Paṇikkar of the Sanskrit College, Trivandrum, wrote a drama called *Annadātṛcarita*. A. V. Krishna Variyar has to his credit the *Mālā*,[119] a poem on Parīkṣit Tampurān of Cochin. The *Pūtanāmokṣa*, a poem in four cantos, by Mūriyil Nārāyaṇan Nambīśan who lived in the beginning of this century, has recently been published.[120] A new Sanskrit commentary on the *Nārāyaṇīya* of Melpputtūr by Koṇattu Kṛṣṇa Vāriyar has also been just published.[121]

The main portion of original literary output in Kerala is now in the Malayalam language itself. The great poets of the land like Vallattol Nārāyaṇa Menon, Kumāran Āśān and Ullūr Paramesvara Iyer wrote mainly in their mother tongue. It is only in the field of devotional literature that Sanskrit seems to hold part of its original influence and popularity. Some of the religious reformers of Kerala have written in Sanskrit: thus we have the *Stavaratnāvali* and *Paramaśivastava* by Caṭṭampi Svāmikal (1854-1924), the *Darśanamālā* and the *Municaryāpañcaka* by Śrī Nārāyaṇaguru Svāmikal (1857-1928), and the *Laghubhāgavata*, *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇasargasāra* and *Śrīkṛṣṇastotra* by Vāḷakunnam Vāsudevan Nambūtiri.[122] Many Sanskrit Stotra works are even now composed in Kerala. It is not possible to give an exaustive account of all such works, because in many cases such works are not published due to the lack of encouragement from the reading public, and details about them and their authors are not easily available.

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[118] Trivandrum, 1936.
[119] Trichur, 1948
[120] Trichur, 1952
[121] Trichur, 1957
[122] *KSC*, V, pp. 978, 983, 987

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APPENDIX

PHILOSOPHICAL AND TECHNICAL LITERATURE
A BRIEF SURVEY

VEDIC EXEGESIS

Kerala's contribution to Vedic exegesis is really substantive. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, the famous Vedic commentator of the 12th century, belonged to Kerala, as is clear from his use of some old Malayalam terms like *tavaṇa, mutal, munpu, pin,* etc. (TSS. 167, p. 265). Among his commentaries are *Sukhapradā* on *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Mokṣapradā* on *Ai. Āraṇyaka, Abhyudayapradā* on *Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra* and *Vedārthadīpikā* on Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī*. Udaya of Brahmakkala, son of Nārāyaṇa and Umā, wrote the *Sukhadā* commentary on the *Kauṣītaki Brāhamaṇa,* recently edited by Dr. E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma. The *Sarvānukramaṇī* has another commentary *Dīpaprabhā* by Nārāyaṇa of Akkittam family near Trippunittura; there is another elaborate metrical commentary on the same work, which is anonymous. Prof. Kunhan Raja's copy of the manuscript is now with me. According to the *Avantisundarīkathā* of Daṇḍin of the 7th century (*TSS*. 172, 13-14) two of the author's friends belonging to Kerala were Bhavatrāta, a commentator on Kalpasūtras, and his son Mātṛdatta, who was a Vedic scholar. Prof. Venkitasubramonia Iyer has suggested that this Mātṛdatta is identical with the author of the commentary on the *Śrautasūtra* and the *Gṛhyasūtra* of the Satyāṣāḍha school, and that Bhavatrāta may be the commentator of the *Kauṣītaki* and *Jaiminīyagṛhyasūtras* (*JOR*. Madras, XIX, 161-2). Nīlakaṇṭha Yogiyār of Taikkāṭ Vaidika family of the 16th century wrote the *Śrautaprāyaścittasaṅgraha* on the *śrauta* expiatory ceremonies. A very important work on Vedic exegesis is the elaborate metrical commentary on Yāska's

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For bibliographical references on the works and authors mentioned here, see *New Catalogus Catalagorum* (Vols I-X published) and Dr. Venkitasubramonia Iyer's book on Kerala Sanskrit literature. Also *International Sanskrit Conference* (1972), Vol. I. part I, pp. 282-301.

Nirukta, Niruktavārtika, by Padmapādācārya, who before *saṁnyāsa* was Nīlakaṇṭha belonging to a family in Koṇṭayūr on the banks of the Bhāratappuzha. He is quoted as an authority by Payyūr Parameśvara in his commentary on the *Sphoṭasiddhi,* by Kelallūr Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājī in his Bhāṣya on the *Āryabhaṭīya* etc. and must be earlier than the 14th century.

DHARMAŚĀSTRA

In the field of Dharmaśāstra Kerala has produced an interesting work *Laghudharmaprakāśikā,* sometimes called *Śaṅkarasmṛti* wrongly ascribed to the great Śaṅkara, which gives a list of 64 *anācāras* or peculiar customs of Kerala Brahmins. It is a fairly late work. *Vyavahāramālā,* a manual for civil and criminal law in 19 sections, is also a late anonymous work, and is generally ascribed to a member of Mahiṣamaṅgalam family. The *Smārtaprāyaścittvimarśinī* by Nārāyaṇa of Mahiṣamaṅgalam deals with the expiations in 5 sections. Other works on the subject are *Smārtaprāyaścittas* by Nīlakaṇṭha Yogiyār of Taikkāḍ, and Putumana Somayājī and *Smārtavaitānaprāyaścitta* by Māndhātā of Cerumukku family. On *āśauca* or pollution is the *Āśaucadīpikā* by Parameśvara of Mahiṣamaṅgalam composed in 1579 and its commentaries by Pāccu Mūttatu of Vaikkam, and Godavarma Yuvarāja of Cranganore. The latter has also written an independent work *Āśaucacintāmaṇi.* The *Dīpaprabhā* commentary by Nārāyaṇa of Akkittam on *Praiṣārtha* may also be mentioned.

VEDĀNTA

In the field of Philosophy the name of Śaṅkarācārya alone is sufficient to bring Kerala's contribution to the first rank. His commentaries on the Prasthānatraya and independent works like the *Upadeśasāhasrī* are too famous to need mention here. Kerala tradition claims Padmapāda as belonging to Kerala ; he is associated with the founding of Tekke Maṭham at Trichur. One Padmapādācārya of Kerala wrote the metrical commentary on the *Nirukta* ; Sarvajñātman of the 10th century, author of the *Saṃkṣepaśārīraka, Pañcaprakriyā* and *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa,* is believed to have been a Svāmiyār of Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī temple at Trivandrum. Līlāśuka of the 13th century wrote *Śaṅkarahṛdayaṅgamā* commentary on *Kenopaniṣad,* pointing out the harmony between the two commentaries on it by Śaṅkarācārya. Durgāprasādayati of the 14th century wrote the *Advaitaprakāśa* on the essentials of Advaita. Rāghavānanda, author of the Advaitic *Kṛṣṇapadī* commentary on the *Bhāgavata*, wrote the *Siddhāntasaṅgraha* or *Sarvamatasaṅgraha* in the 14th century. *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha* by Śaṅkarārya may also be mentioned here. Among modern works are the *Darśanamālā* by Śrī Nārāyaṇagurusvāmi and minor works like *Kaivalyakandalī* by Nīlakaṇṭha Tīrthapāda. The prolific writer Mm. N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri also belonged to Kerala.

MĪMĀṀSĀ

Kerala has contributed immensely to Mīmāṁsā. Popular traditions identify Prabhākara with a member of the Kuttulli family. King Hariścandra of Koṭṭayam is said to have reintroduced the Bhāṭṭa school in Kerala. The Payyūr family in Porkkalam was a seat of Mīmāṁsā, and we know of six generations of scholars of this family and their works. Uddaṇḍa Śāstri refers to Maharṣi as *Mīmāṁsādvayakulaguru*. Parameśvara of Payyūr says that the works of Maṇḍana were constantly studied in his family (*Maṇḍanācārya—kṛtayo yeṣvadhīyanta kṛtsnaśaḥ, tadvamśyena mayā.*) Parameśvara I is the author of *Nyāyasamuccaya* and two commentaries on Vācaspati's *Nyāyakaṇikā*. His grandson Parameśvara II wrote the *Gopālikā* commentary on Maṇḍana's *Sphoṭasiddhi*, *Tattvavibhāvanā* on Vācaspatimiśra's *Tattvabindu* and commentaries on Cidānanda's *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* and Maṇḍana's *Vibhramaviveka*. His grandson Parameśvara III wrote the *Jaiminīyasūtrārthasaṅgraha*. The *Kaumārilayuktimālā* by Vāsudeva and Parameśvara's commentary on Sucaritamiśra's *Kāśikā* are also noteworthy. According to some scholars Cidānanda himself belonged to Kerala. The *Mānameyodaya* by Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita of Vellāṅgallūr is a very popular work on Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsā. On the Prābhākara school two works are important—*Tarkārṇava* of Dāmodara and an anonymous *Gurusammatapadārtha*.

TARKA

Tarka became popular in Kerala only recently. The *Hetvābhāsadaśaka* is a poem illustrating the Hetvābhāsas and was written by Godavarma Yuvarāja of Cranganore. Bhaṭṭan Tampurān of the same family wrote the *Siddhāntamālā* summarising the *Vyutpattivāda*.

The late Parīkṣit Rāma Varma of Cochin wrote the *Subodhinī*, a commentary on select portions of *Muktāvalī*, *Dinakarī* and *Rāmarudrī*. Śāstṛ Śarman of Māntiṭṭa wrote the *Nacaratnamālā* on the second *Vyutpattilakṣaṇa* of Pragalbhamiśra.

TANTRA

In the field of Tantra Kerala has made substantial contribution to temple architecture, sculpture and rituals. The *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* is a comprehensive work in four sections: Sāmānyapāda, Mantrapāda, Kriyāpāda and Yogapāda and is quite ancient. The *Prayogamañjarī* of Ravi, son of Aṣṭamūrti, in 21 sections, and the anonymous *Kriyāsāra* in 69 sections deal with the ritualistic worship of deities, including Hariharaputra, and Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa. The most popular and perhaps the most important work in the field is the *Tantrasamuccaya* of Cennās Nārāyaṇa, and its supplement *Śeṣasamuccaya* by his disciple; the former is in 12 sections and the latter in 10 sections. The *Kramadīpikā* by Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka of the 14th century is on Kṛṣṇa worship. Among other works are the *Anuṣṭhānasamuccaya* by Tolannūr Nārāyaṇa, *Anuṣṭhānapaddhati* by Parameśvara, *Tāntrikakriyā* by Karuttapāra Nambūtiri, *Kriyāsaṅgraha* by Kuḷikkāṭṭu Śaṅkara and *Kriyāleśasmṛti* by Nīlakaṇṭha. The *Śilparatna* by Śrīkumāra of the 16th century is on temple architecture and iconography. The *Mayamata* is also probably a work of Kerala.

JYOTIṢA

In the field of astronomy and mathematics Kerala's contribution is outstanding in volume and value. The claim that Āryabhaṭa and Bhāskara belonged to Kerala need not be taken seriously, but the astronomers in Kerala belonged to the Āryabhaṭa school, and one scholar Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa stated that "We accept only Āryabhaṭa as our authority". The *Kaṭapayādi* system of notation is very popular here and is supposed to have evolved here. The *Cāndravākyas*, beginning with *Gīrṇaḥ śreyaḥ* giving the positions of the moon is ascribed to Vararuci, but might be a work of Kerala. Haridatta in the 7th century A.D. wrote the *Grahacāranibandhana* introducing the Parahita system of calculation using the *Kaṭapayādi* notation. Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa of the ninth century was the director of an observatory at Mahodayapura and wrote a commentary on the *Laghubhāskarīya* in 869 A.D. under the patronage of King Ravivarma.

The most outstanding astronomer of Kerala was Parameśvara of Vaṭaśśeri in Ālattūr village who revised the old system of calculation and introduced the Dṛggaṇita system in 1441 A.D. after continuous observations of eclipses for more than 40 years; he has also commented on all the standard texts on mathematics and astronomy. His teacher, Mādhava of Iriñjāṭappaḷḷi family in Irinjalakkuda wrote the *Veṇvāroha* and is the founder of a formula *jīveparasparanyāya* on the relation between the sides and diagonals of a cyclic quadrilateral. Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji of Kelallūr family (1443-1543) is the author of an elaborate Bhāṣya on *Āryabhaṭīya* and independant works like *Tantrasaṅgraha* and *Siddhāntadarpaṇa*. Acyuta Piṣāroṭi, student of Jyeṣṭhadeva and teacher of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, was a well-known astronomer and wrote several tracts like *Karaṇottama*. In the 17th century Putumana Somayāji wrote the popular work *Karaṇapaddhati*. Kaṭattanāḍ Śaṅkaravarma Rāja wrote the *Sadratnamālā* in the 19th century.

In the field of astrology the most important contribution of Kerala is the *Daśādhyāyī* commentary on the first ten chapters of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka* by Talakkulattu Govinda Bhaṭṭa in the 13th century. There are several *Jātakapaddhatis* and books on *Muhūrtas* produced in Kerala. The *Praśnamārga* of Panakkāṭṭu Nambūtiri in the 17th century deserves special mention.

In 1963 I published a survey of mathematics and astronomy in Kerala (Adyar Library). Later K. V. Sarma, who has published several critical editions of Kerala works on Jyotiṣa, brought out a more detailed study including works written in Malayalam and those on astrology also.

ĀYURVEDA

On Āyurveda Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* is the most popular work in Kerala and was commented by several scholars there. The anonymous *Pāṭhya*, the *Vākyapradīpikā* by Parameśvaran Nambi of Ālattūr, *Kairali* by Plāntol Mūssad (for the *Uttarasthāna*), and *Lalitā* by Vayaskara Śaṅkaran Mūssad are important. The *Viṣanārāyaṇīya* is a work on toxicology written by a native of Śivapura in the 16th century. Vaikkattu Pāccu Mūttatu (1813-1887) wrote a comprehensive work on Āyurveda called *Hṛdayapriyā* in four parts containing

60 chapters; and another work *Sukhasādhaka* in 12 sections. Among modern writers P. S. V, Variyar (1869-1944), founder of the Āryavaidyaśālā at Kottakkal, wrote a comprehensive work on medicine *Aṣṭāṅgaśārīraka* and a work on anatomy and physiology called *Bṛhacchārīraka*. Vaṭakkeppāṭṭu Nārāyaṇan Nair (1878-1959) wrote the *Aṇugrahamīmāṁsā* in six sections on bacteriology from the point of view of Āyurveda. Another interesting work in the field is the *Sadācāravṛttivartana* of Plāntoḷ Āryan Mūs, describing how one should lead a life of physical and moral health.

VYĀKARAṆA

Sanskrit grammar has been a favourite subject with many Kerala writers. Grammatical poems following the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* model have already been mentioned. The most important work from Kerala on grammar is the *Prakriyāsarvasva* by Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, which is a comprehensive, broadbased and independent recast of the Pāṇini sūtras with lucid explanation and apt illustrations. It is unfortunate that the full text has not yet been published, though a critical study has been made by Prof. Venkitasubramonia Iyer and portions have been edited. Acyuta Piṣāroṭi wrote the *Praveśaka*, a first book of Sanskrit grammar. Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka's *Puruṣakāra* commentary on the *Daiva* on homophonous roots, Śaṅkara's *Nīvī* commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Rūpāvatāra*, the *Kaṭhina prakāśikā* on Kaiyaṭa's *Pradipa*, and *Dīpaprabhā* on the *Vārarucasaṅgraha* both by Akkittam Nārāyaṇa and the elaborate metrical commentaries *Laghuvivṛti* and *Bṛhadvivṛti* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by a Brahmin of Rāmaśāli in the 16th century are important. The *Paryāyapadāvali* of Vāsudeva in the 15th century deals with synonymous roots. The *Sarvapratyayamālā* of Śaṅkarārya and the *Rūpānayanapaddhati* by Mahiṣamaṅgalam Śaṅkara are intended to teach the grammatical formations easily. Prof. A. R. Rajarajavarma's *Laghupāṇinīya* is an excellent manual introducing Pāṇini's text, which can be used with profit in the colleges. Special mention has to be made of the *Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā* of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, defending popular non-Pāṇinīyan usages; another interesting work is the *Mukhabhūṣaṇa* of unknown authorship which discusses the correctness of many classical usages; the same author has written the *Ārṣaprayogasādhutvanirūpaṇa*. (ed. *ALB*. Vols. 37 and 42).

LITERARY CRITICISM

In the field of literary criticism Kerala has produced three commentaries on Abhinavagupta's *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka*: *Kaumudī* by Udaya Rāja of the 14th century, *Bālapriyā* by Rama Pisharoti of the present century and an anonymous one, probably by a Vāriyar of Deśamangalam family; a brief resumé *Dhvanyālokasaṅgraha* is also available for the first two sections of the text (ed. *AOR*, Madras University, Vol. XXIV, Part II). The *Kāvyollāsa* by Nīlakaṇṭha of Tirumaṅgalam is based on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*; the *Kāvyakalānidhi* of Kṛṣṇasudhī, *Godavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa* by Aruṇagiri and *Bālarāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇa* by Sadāśivadīkṣita follow the *Pratāparudrīya*. The anonymous *Līlātilaka* of the 14th century deals with the stylistics and grammar of the Maṇipravāla Malayalam. Samudrabandha's commentary on Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkārasarvasva* is also worth mentioning.

FINE ARTS

On prosody Rāmapāṇivāda's *Vṛttavārttika*, Ilattūr Rāmasvāmi Śāstri's *Sadvṛttaratnāvali* and Karuṇākara's *Kavicintāmaṇi* commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara* are important contributions from Kerala. The anonymous *Hastalakṣaṇadipikā* deals with the handposes used in Kūṭiyāṭṭam and Kathakali; the *Naṭāṅkuśa*, also anonymous, criticises the unhealthy tendencies, exaggerations, introduction of extraneous elements etc. in the staging of Kūṭiyāṭṭam by Cākyārs. The *Bālarāmabharata* is a modern comprehensive work covering the whole field of dancing and is ascribed to Kārttika Tirunāl Rāmavarma Mahārāja of Travancore. The *Tālaprastāra* of Rāmapāṇivāda deals with Tāla: the *Saṅgītacandrikā* by Āttūr Kṛṣṇa Piṣāroṭi (1876-1964) in 12 sections deals with the theory of music in sūtra style. Svāti Tirunāl Mahārāja has written the *Muhanaprāsādi Vyavasthā* on rhyme and alliteration in musical compositions.

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Kamalinīrājahaṁsa
Candrikākalāpīḍa
Pūrṇapuruṣārthacandrodaya
Pradyumnābhyudaya
Bālamārtāṇḍavijaya
Ratnaketūdaya
Rāmavarmavilāsa
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page	Line	
7	2	read Śeṣāryādīpikā
8		Regarding the date of the royal dramatist Kulaśekhara, Dr. N. P. Unni (1977) accepts my view that he must be later than Ānandavardhana, but the reference to the *Āścaryamañjarī* in Rājaśekhara's verse is explained away by accepting two Rājaśekharas. This is not supported by the available data. The *Vyaṅgyavyākhyās* purporting to be written by a contemporary of the dramatist are like stage manuals and fresh materials might have been added by different people at different times. Quotations found in the present text cannot be taken as genuine; only a critical edition based on all the available manuscripts can shed further light on the problem. *Vicchinnābhiṣeka* is the popular name for Act I of the *Pratimānāṭaka* as is clear from the Cākyār tradition and the available *Kramadīpikās* of that drama and should not be taken as a work of Kulaśekhara. The reference to the *nāṭakatrayī* of King Rājaśekhara in *Śaṅkaravijaya* need not be taken seriously, since the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* speaks of the *nāṭakadvayī* only.
13		fn. 65. See also K.K. Raja, 'Date of Śaṅkara' *ALB*. 24.
24		*Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya* of Vāsudeva published with Mal. C. Madras Government Oriental Series 134. 1955 ; with Hindi Translation and C. Chow. Skt. Series, 1968.
25	17	*read* is written.
27		*Tripuradahana* with *Hṛdayagrāhiṇī* commentary by Paṅkajākṣa is published in *TSS*. 181 (1957). Other commentaries are *Padārthadīpinī* by son of Nityapriya, *Arthadīpikā* by Nityāmṛtamaskarin and *Prakāśikā* (See *NCC*. VIII. 238.)
31		On *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* and Līlāśuka see *The Love of Krishna, the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala. ed.

		with intro. by Frances Wilson, Uni. of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1975, with metrical trans. in English. Appendix contains an elaborate description of a large number of MSS. used.
33	8	*read* makes.
39	24	*read* Rūpa.
42	6	*read* Śrīdharadāsa.
		fn. 55 verse 2nd line *read* चक्रे
44	4	*read* of a verse.
		fn. 70. *read* मृद् भक्षिता
45	4	*read* rules in
		fn. 75. *add* Ptd. with *C. Bhaktivilāsa* of Durgāprasādayati. *TSS*. 235, 1971.
48	14	*read* praises.
	15	*read* describes.
51		Another commentary on *KK.* is *Adhyātmavārttikabodhāmṛta* by Bālagopālayati (also known as Keralīya), disciple of Rāghavendrasarasvatī. Ptd. Telugu Academy. It gives an Advaitic interpretation of the text.
52		*Mūṣakavaṁśa* ed. by Dr. K. Raghavan Pillai, Trivandrum. *TSS*. 246. 1977. See review by N.V.P. Unithiri, *MW*. dt. 23—3—1979 for detailed bibliography. *Add.* A.K. Warder's *Indian Historiography* (one ch. devoted to this work). A detailed study on the work by Dr. N. P. Unni is being published from Trivandrum. N.V. Krishna Warrier's study in Malayalam is published in *Vijñānakairali* Vol. VI. 1974. Dr. Raghavan Pillai attempts to identify Mūṣaka country with South Travancore on the basis of some *Keralotpatti* Mss. But most of the places in the text are identified with present places in North Malabar even in works like *Kṛṣṇavijaya*.
53	31	*read* by her. *and* elder son.
54	5	*read* Vaṭukavarman.
	17	*read* Kuñcivarman.
55	10	*read* Jayamāni
	31	*last word* he
58	17	*read Amogha*
60		fn. 30. *read* Cannanore *for* Chirakkal Taluk.

61		*Tantrasaṅgraha* *TSS*. 188, 1958.
		fn. 35, 2nd verse last line *read* शांकरं
62		fn. 41. *read* *TSS*. 86, 1926.
64	23	*read* दोषाकरव
	26	*read* upon by
66		fn. 10 verse 1.3 *read* हृण्ड
67		fn. 13 *add* with the C.s *Vivaraṇa* and *Vimarśinī*, Part I *TSS*. 151, 1945; Part II *TSS*. 169, 1958 and Part III *TSS*.200, 1962.
72		fn. 37 second verse *read* चम्पुरामायणे
73		Karuṇākara Śūlapāṇidāsa (C. 17th Cent.), author of a Mahākāvya *Nalacandrodaya* in 12 cantos (recently discovered by N.V.P. Unithiri), is different from the above three Karuṇākaras. He is a *pāraśava* from *Karikānana* (Karikkāṭu) in North Kerala and has been identified with the brother of Rāmavāriyar of Karikkāṭu, the preceptor of Candraśekharavāriyar, author of *Śrīkṛṣṇacarita*. See N.V.P. Unitihiri, Nalacandrodaya of Karuṇākara Śūlapāṇidāsa', *AOR*. Madras 1975.
74		fn. 44. verse 2nd line *read* ध्वरा:
		Prose *read* भट्टरङ्गनाथस्य and कविरि
80		fn. 59. Ptd. *TSS*. 196.
81		fn. 60. After Trichur *add* ed. with Introduction by N. P. Unni, College Book House, Trivandrum, 1972.
89	11	*read* त्रुटित:
92	3	Another reading is *Yeṣvatiṣṭhantā*.
94		fn. 101. *read* मस्माभि:
97	25	*read* पय्यूराव्य
		fn. 113. 3rd line तद्व्याख्या
101		fn. 8 *add* *Purvabhāratacampū* Ptd. *TSS*. 209, 1963 and *Kṛṣṇagīti*, ed. with Introduction and Malayalam translation by P. C. Vasudevan Elayathu, Trichur. 1965.
103		fn. 16. *Read* *TSS*. 63, 1918.
		fn. 19. *Read* Ravi Varma Sanskrit Series, No. 3, Trippunithura. 1963.
		fn. 21. *read* Prof. V.A.

104		fn. 24. verse 2. *read* कलाजृम्भ
105		fn. 32. l. 2. *read* रामाचार्यच्चि
107	19	*read* शृङ्गार
109	1	*read* Ṛudradāsa
115		fn. 73 verse 2 read मनोरमा
119		On Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and *Prakriyāsarvasva* see S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer (1972). Dr. Iyer believes in the tradition, that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa lived for 106 years. That he was born in A.D. 1560, wrote the *Nārāyaṇīya* in 1586, lost his teacher Acyuta Piṣāroṭi in 1621 and completed some portion of the *Prakriyāsarvasva* in 1616—so much is accepted by all scholars and is found in a Granthavari record, which does not, however, give the date of his death. My suggestion was that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have been dead by 1655, when the Meya portion of the *Mānameyodaya* was written by Nārayaṇa Paṇḍita under the patronage of the Zamorin Mānaveda. This view is supported by the word *prāṅ* in *Prāṅnārāyaṇasūriṇā* in the beginning of the *Meya* portion. Dr. Iyer says that Bhaṭṭoji's date has been fixed as 1550-1630 by P. K. Gode, and that the tradition about Bhaṭṭoji having outlived Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has necessarily to be rejected. But it may be pointed out that Gode's date for Bhaṭṭoji is not final and there is no evidence against giving him some more years of life.
121	32	*read.* मनसोद्धरा
124		fn. 19. verse 2 *read* मूर्तये
129		fn. 39 verse 2 third line *read* थीपयन् and last line end विधायाधिशेते
133		fn. 59. verse 2 *read* कुंत्तुको
138		fn. 80. See also Venkitasubramonia Iyer, *Prakriyāsarvasva, A Critical Study* (1972).
139		fn. 85. Latest edns, Guruvayur Devaswam edition in Sanskrit with *Laghuṭippaṇi*, 1971, with Introduction and English translation by Swami Tapasyananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras-4. 1976, with Introduction and commentary in Malayalam, *Vanamālā* Pub: Guru-

		vayur Devaswam, 1978. *Sri Nārāyaniyam* Translated into Tamil verse by R. Padmanabhan, Bombay. 1979.
142		fn. 98 *add* ed. by S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer with commentaries *Kṛṣṇārpaṇa* and *Vivaraṇa*. Kerala University Sanskrit Series, No. 6. Trivandrum, 1970.
144		fn. 104 end. See above *Prabandhasamāhāra* Part I, 1971.
146		fn. 121. *add* and after *Ahalyāmokṣa*. *Nṛgamokṣa* is published as *TSS*. 175, 1955.
147		fn. 126. Ed. by E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma, *Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Journal*, 1968.
149		fn. 144 *read* 94th.
151		fn. 150 *add*. This Rāma is identified with Abhirāma by N.V.P. Unithiri. See "Abhirāma, the Commentator of *Śākuntala*, His Identity with Rāma Vāriyar", *Journal of Kerala Studies*, 1976.
160		fn. 31. *add Rāsakrīḍā* by Nārāyaṇa of Mahiṣamaṅgalam is published as *TSS*. 219, 1966.
161	12	*read* पाशा
		fn. 33 after Mylapore *add* Madras, 1934.
165	11	*read* Stotras.
172	9	*read* 1756 and 1.17 *read* 1794.
175	3	*read* of whose
178		fn. 43 *add* from Trichur. 1931. Ed. by K. Rama Pisharati with *C. Bhāvadīpikā* of Rāma Varma Parīkṣit Tampurān, Mangalodayam Press, Trichur, 1951.
180	12	read *Garbhaśrīmān*.
	24	*read* worldly.
182		fn. 57. *add* See S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, *Svāti Tirunāl and His Music*, Trivandrum, 1975.
187	17	Nandikkāṭṭu Uṇṇiravi (Bālaravi) Kurup.
		fn. 49. *add TSS*. 212, 1964.
195		fn. 61. *add Pañcapadi* or *Śivāgīti* is modelled on *Gītagovinda* and is in six cantos. See. L. S. Rajagopalan, 'Śivāgīti', *Journal of Music Academy*, Madras, 36. *Śārikāsandeśa* and *Ākhyāyikāpaddhati* are two newly discovered

		works ascribed to Rāmapāṇivāda, by C. M. Neelakanthan, Govt. College, Pattambi.
196	5	*read* Such works are
205		The identity of the two Govindanāthas is doubtful. fn. 55. *read* also p. 150.f.
207	17	*read* few
209		fn. 1. *add*. Ed. by K. P. Narayana Pisharoti in Malayalam script with *Āṭṭaprakāra* and *Kramadipikā*, Sangeeta Nataka Academy, Trichur.
211	27	*read* Brahmin
213		last line *delete* Trichur.
215	6	*read keśānta* for *keśa*.
	15	*delete* Trichur.
	23	*read* Vindhya. fn. 38. *add*. *TSS*. 159, 1949.
217		fn: 56. *add*. *TSS*. 196, 1961.
218	9	*read* बान्धवम्
219		fn. 65 l. 6 *read* जातवेदा
220		fn. 71 Ptd. *TSS*. 234, 1971.
221		fn. 78 last line *read* जनैर्निगदितो
224	10	*read Rūpakaviśeṣa* by Prabhākarācārya in one act *for* Bhāṇa. fn. 97. *add*. *TSS*. 183, 1957.
226	11	*read* तन्द्रया
231		fn. 38. *add*. *TSS*. 204, 1963.
233	21	*read* Śvetadurga.
237		*Sandeśakāvyas* : The four *Sandeśakāvyas Kāma*, *Haṁsa*, *Cakora* and *Māruta* are published as *Sandeśacatuṣṭaya*, *TSS*. 204-7, 1963. Among other *Sandeśakāvyas* of Kerala mention may be made of the following : the *Indusandeśa* by Mūriyil Nārāyaṇan Nambīśan *KSSC*. VI, 385); *Kapotasandeśa* by Nārāyaṇan Mussad of Taikkād (*KSSC*. VI. 237) *Kapotasandeśa* by Kuññuṇṇi Kurup of Kuṭṭamattu *KSC*. IV.735) *Śārikāsandeśa* by Rāmapāṇivāda (see. *add. notes* on Rāmapāṇivūda), *Cātakasandeśa* by Śāstrśarman

		of Māntiṭṭa (Ms. with Prof. P. C. Vasudevan Ilayath, Kakkasseri) and *Pavanasandeśa* by Rāma Varma Kuññuṇṇi Rāja of Ciralayam with autocommentary (KSSC. V. 390-91).
		fn. 59. l. 4. काव्येऽस्मिन्
238	29	*read Amogharāghava.*
243		*Śrirāmodanta* by Parameśvara. See K. V. Sarma, "Authorship of Śrīrāmodanta", *Vishweswaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur. Vol. II, Part I. pp. 165-166, 1964.
		fn. 100. *add* Ptd. *TSS*. 180. 1956.
		fn. 103 *read* Ilaṅkulattu Kurūr.
244		fn. 105 *read* Stray Verses.
245		On commentaries see also N. V. P. Unithiri. "Special features of Sanskrit Commentaries from Kerala", *Journal of Kerala Studies*, 1977.
		fn. 119. *read TSS*. 195, 1961. See also C. Kunhan Raja "The Śākuntalacarcā", *Annals of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vols I, II and III, 1937-39.
246		fn. 123. second verse beg. *read* मार्गे
254	30	*read* there and at Harippāḍ.
255	27	*read Gurupavana*
	29	*read* pāṭṭu.
	31	*read Tulābhāraśataka*
255	38	*read* instance.
256	13	*read* Tirunāl
257	35	*read varṇana.*
258	11	*read Vāgdāsa*
263	26	*read Pūtanā*
	27	*read Kātyāyanyaṣṭaka*
265	23	*read Pūrvārdha*
267	19	*delete* one *siddhā*
	21	*read* written.
268	10	*read vṛttāvali*
269	25	*read Rukmiṇīsvayaṁvara* and *Sītāsvayaṁvara.*
270		fn. 92. *add Sanskrit Plays of V. Krishnan Thampi*. ed. Dr. N.P. Unni, College Book House, Trivandrum, 1977.

273 *delete* fn. 196.

fn. 111. *delete* not. *add* Geetha, Press, Trichur.

274 Śrīdevikuṭṭi Tampurāṭṭi of Tiruvaṇṇūr Putiya Kovilakam has written four works : *Naiṣadha*, *Bhāmāpariṇaya*, *Bhāgavatacampū* and *Madhurāpurīvilāsa* (*KSC.* VI. 292-5). *Kaustubha* of Rāma Varma Valia Tampurān of Cirakkal summarises the 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in 141 verses (Anandavilasam Press). N. S. Anantakrishna Sastri has commented on the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* following both the *prasthānas* in *Śārīrakanyāyasaṅgrahadīpikā* and *Śārīrakamīmāṁsābhāṣyapradīpa* (Calcutta Sanskrit Series No. 1. Part III, 1941). V.S.V. Gurusvami Sastri has written *Nalodanta*, a short *kāvya* on the story of King Nala, and *Śārīrakavyākhyāprasthānāni*, on the different schools of interpretation of Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (Madras, 1940). *Yeśucarita* is a prose work in 5 chapters on the life of Jesus Christ by Rev. J. Marcel, published from Ernakulam in 1957. Balarama Panikkar's *Śrīnārāyaṇavijaya*, a Mahākāvya in 21 cantos on the life and teaching of Śrīnārāyaṇa Guru, is published with autocommentary from Trivandrum in 1973. *Keralodaya*, by Dr. K.N. Ezhuthachan, in 21 cantos deals with the history of Kerala from its origin upto the formation of the new Kerala State, covering a period of 2000 years. It throws much light on the cultural and social aspects of Kerala and is published from Pattambi, Kerala, 1977. *Nārāyaṇīyāmṛta* by C.P. Krishnan Elayat in an effective summary of *Nārāyaṇīya* in 100 verses (Prabuddhakeralam Press, Trichur, 1976). Acyuta Poduval in *Mātṛparidevana* reflects on the past glories of India and laments the present degeneration (Trippunithura, 1961). Dr. E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma has tranlated into Sanskrit G. Sankara Kurup's Malayalam poem *Sandhyā*. (Ernakulam, 1975). *Kristubhāgavata* by Prof. P. C. Devassia (Jayabharatam, Trivandrum, 1977) is a regular Mahākāvya in 33 cantos in simple and direct style covering the life, teachings, and activities of Jesus Christ. V.K.K. Gurukkal in *Śrīgurugītā*, a short poem of 200 verses, gives a succinct account of the life and works of the late Vāgbhaṭānanda alias V. Kunhikkannan Gurukkal (Tellicherry, 1977). *Śrīśāradādevīcaritasaṅgraha* by Mrs. Devaki Menon is a short work on the life and teachings of Śrīśāradādevī (Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras,

1978). Ottur Unni Nambudrippad adds to his contribution to Rāmakṛṣṇa literature by *Śrīrāmakṛṣṇakarnāmṛta*, *Aghoramaṇi*, *Vivekānanda and Śāradāmāśrayāmi*. *Ekabhārata* of E.P. Bharata Pisharoti is a modern drama in four acts where natural features of India like Himalayas, Ganges, ocean, deserts etc. play important roles and finally effect the prosperity of India (Kamadhenu Publication, Eranellur, Trichur, 1978). N.D. Krishnanunni's translation of Pūntānam's *Jñānappāna* is just now published. N. V. P. Unithiri's *Śiṣyassutaśca*, N. Koyittaṭṭa's *Vīṇapūvu* and *Magdalanamariyam*, Tirunallur Karunakaran's *Caṇḍālabhikṣukī*, and K. P. Narayana Pisharoti's *Mahātyāgī* are all Sanskrit renderings of well-known Malayalam works. *Nayāgrāprapātaḥ* of N.V. Krishna Variyar, *Girigītā* of K. P. Urumese, *Premalahari* of Bhaskaran Pillai, *Śrīvallabheśasuprabhāta* of Dr. P.K. Narayana Pillai, *Meghasandeśasaṅgraha* of V.G. Namputiri, *Dhanañjayavijaya* of Ramasubrahmoneyam are recent published works.